‘The Centre of the Muniment’: the India Office Records and the Historiography of Early Modern Empire, 1875-1891

Peter Mitchell

Queen Mary, University of London

99, 204 words (excluding bibliography and appendices)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of London

September 2013

Abstract

From the formation of the India Office in 1858 until after the 1914-18 war, a group of archivists, antiquarians, geographers and civil servants within the India Office reorganised the records of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office itself into what is now the India Office Records. My thesis focuses on the earliest materials of the East India Company - the records of its trading activities in the Indian Ocean from 1600 to 1623 - and how these materials were absorbed into the India Office Records between 1875 and 1891. I study the documents themselves as evidence of a complex early modern documentary culture; then I study the processes by which they were absorbed into the India Office Records, classified, edited, interpreted, and publicized. I argue that the creators of the India Office Records - civil servants, antiquarians and geographers such as George Birdwood, F. C. Danvers, William Foster and Clements R. Markham - organised and interpreted their materials in the service of a teleological historiography of empire. I situate the archive's creation within the contexts of nineteenth-century archival, antiquarian and historiographical practice, the crisis of 'high imperialism' in the late nineteenth century, and the development of the 'exhibitionary complex', and locate it within the scholarly and governmental formations of the time. Ultimately I hope to demonstrate how the archive itself, as an apparently neutral repository of historical information, was in fact instrumental in the production of imperial discourse and ideology.

Table of Contents

List of figures

Acknowledgements

My first and greatest thanks go to my supervisors, Jerry Brotton and Lisa Jardine, whose expertise, encouragement, and occasionally superhuman patience got me through the fraught process of writing. Alfred Hiatt and Miles Ogborn provided invaluable readings and advice in the early stages, and I am grateful to Anna Winterbottom for her advice regarding the IOR. In the archive itself, Antonia Moon's guidance and expertise proved priceless in directing me towards the best material, and without her signposting of the richest archival seams much of this research would never have happened. The unstinting professionalism and helpfulness of the staff at the British Library Asia Pacific and Africa Collections have made an often gruelling archival trawl a pleasure. I also thank my examiners, Felix Driver and Peter Hulme, for their forbearance, supportiveness and sagacity in suggesting corrections and improvements to the original thesis script.

I have been privileged over the past five years to work and teach in the School of English and Drama at Queen Mary, University of London. Julia Boffey, Warren Boutcher, Andrea Brady, David Colclough, Suzanne Hobson and Joad Raymond have been both inspirational course leaders, and generous and entertaining guides to working academic life. Faisal Abul, Rob Ellis, Pat Hamilton, Huw Marsh, Daphne Rayment and Beverley Stewart have saved me, my students, and this thesis from disaster on a number of occasions, and cannot be thanked enough. My students' energy, wit and brilliance sustained my will to continue my research and made the process worthwhile. I have also been fortunate in being associated with the convivial scholarly community of the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, whose hospitality and *esprit de corps* set me going on my research.

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, grant number AH/H022260/1. Images from the India Office Records could not have been included without generous assistance from the Queen Mary School of English and Drama Postgraduate Research Fund.

The friends and family who have supported me through the past few years of work are too numerous to name, but special thanks go to comrades Pete Jones, Rob Payne and Kirsty Rolfe for stoic example and shared trauma; to Paul and Zoe Bourne, Sarah Broadhurst, Philipp Hunnekuhl, Chiara Palazzo, Thomas Ross, Abby Semple, Matt and Emma Siegel, and Matt Symonds, for drinks, meals, flats, weddings, cohabitations, proofreading, jokes and admonishments; to Quentin Mitchell and Clare & Steve Graham for enthusiasm, warmth, food and lodging; and to my mother and sister, Sue and Kate Mitchell, for financial assistance, patience and love.

List of Abbreviations

EIC	East India Company
Eur MSS	European Manuscripts
IO	India Office
IOLR	India Office Library and Records
IOR	India Office Records
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society
RGS	Royal Geographical Society
RS	Royal Society
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
VOC	Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*)

Chapter 1.

Introduction: The shape of the archive

This thesis is about a body of documentary material from the early seventeenth century, how it was archived by the late nineteenth century, and how that work of archivization reinterpreted its materials to serve an imperialist discourse and ideology.

My primary argument is that the development of the India Office Records (henceforth IOR) between 1875 and the early 1890s is deeply implicated in the formation of a specific master narrative regarding the transactions of the East India Company (henceforth EIC) in the first decades of the seventeenth century. This narrative is an instance of what has been usefully termed a 'reverential historiography',[1] and can also be identified as part of a constellation of 'invented traditions' being actively developed during this period in attempts to articulate and consolidate specifically imperial (and imperialist) state, national, cultural and racial identities.[2] The raw material for this narrative was the early manuscript material relating to the EIC's formation in London, its deliberations, and, especially, its navigation and trading activities in Africa, South and South-East Asia, and the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans.

My study of how this narrative was constructed depends upon as close an understanding as possible of its raw materials themselves. These materials are, I argue, evidence of a sophisticated documentary logistics which, while drawing on pre-existing conventions, was undergoing a period of frenetic improvisation to cope

---

[1] Curt Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45 (1992), 20-48 (p. 45).

[2] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Introduction, pp. 1-14.

with operations of increasing scale and complexity; and a rich source of articulations of bourgeois, masculine, mercantile and national identities during a period when these identities, too, were undergoing rapid change. The narrative which I study bears an intimate and intricate relationship to these features of the documents and the culture and practices they embody. In studying how it reordered, adapted, interpreted and appropriated them, I hope to identify the ways in which the disposition of the reordered archive, and the narratives it implied and endorsed, were influenced by the rhetoric, facticity and materiality of the archived materials; how those rhetorics, facticities and materialities were absorbed, adapted or occluded by the archive's strategies; and where they proved resistant to appropriation or effacement.

The narrative I identify is not monolithic: it is not comprehensively articulated in any single place, it is subject to internal contradictions, and articulations which partake of it do not agree in all their features. However, in the work of archivization, and in the texts which the archivists wrote with reference to that work – the prefaces to catalogues, the editions of texts, the articles in periodicals publicizing their achievements, and the internal memos of the IO – a few recurrent and largely uncontested features are discernible.

Firstly, there is a reverential attitude towards the documentary evidence of the EIC's past. This applies especially to material surrounded by an aura of ritual and law – for example charters, commissions and grants – but also to the records of navigation. In both cases, the reverence accorded the materials, whilst it partakes to an extent of customary antiquarian discourses, also refers specifically to their connection with the EIC.

Secondly, an implicit connection is drawn between the early history of the EIC as manifested in these documents and the imperial present; and often, arguably, to an imperial future as well, through the invocation of an imperial teleology in which the documents, figured as originary instantiations of imperial power and intention, legitimate a present-day imperial politics which is projected forward into futurity. This assertion of a contiguous and unitary narrative often involves a strategy of collapsing and merging the ideological and subjective positions of the early merchants with those of the later historian-administrators. The administrators are figured as carrying on the project of the navigators, and the navigators as being complicit in the teleology of the imperial project as a whole. This involves claiming certain ideological identifications in common between the documents' authors and their archival inheritors: most significantly a construction of British/English national identity drawing on tropes of racial and cultural superiority, protestant confession, mercantile capitalism and bourgeois masculinity, which is envisaged as in some senses transhistorical.

Thirdly, this sense of continuity and complicity is often allied with a claim to recovery which implicitly engages in contemporary political and institutional debates over imperial policy and ideology. The documents can be adverted to as a source of an original, pure imperial ethos which has now been recovered by the archivists, and must be reasserted in imperial politics. This is in some cases allied to a sense of mourning for the EIC itself (as opposed to the late nineteenth-century IO) and the ideologies and practices of imperialism, since lost or abandoned, that it is percieved in retrospect as having possessed.

Finally, this narrative is underwritten not only by the materials themselves, their possession, and their arrangement within a bounded archival structure, but also

by a claim to have "brought them to light": an assertion that they have been recovered from a pre-existing archival chaos or darkness in which their value was not recognised. At times, the claim to their recovery is allied with a culture of nostalgia for previous imperial regimes, and it is implied that their recovery might inaugurate or inspire a recovery of those regimes' values.

These, then, are the main features of the narrative to which the Victorian archivists of the IO attempted – to varying extents, with varying amounts of vehemence and with varying levels of success – to subordinate the IEC's early records. In what follows, I pursue documents from their creation through to the archival regimes and reformulations which occurred during the most concentrated period of their archivization, between 1875 and 1891; I note, where possible, the previous archival regimes through which they passed prior to this period, and interrogate claims to archival recovery and reverence; I study the work of particular archivists and situate them, and their efforts, within the wider cultural, institutional and political contexts of the period; and, finally, I situate the work of this apparently purely 'historical' archival practice within the uses (or fantasies thereof) of archives as tools of imperial power.

Before dealing with issues of theoretical basis, political commitment or methodology, it may be useful to describe the archive itself: its contents, history, disposition and occlusions.

i: The India Office Records: History, Texture, and Contents

Any sustained archival research in the IOR, particularly involving the older EIC records, produces several immediate impressions in rapid succession.

The first is its sheer size. The entirety of the IOR comprises, according to the last estimate, approximately nine miles of shelving;[3] the records of the seventeenth century take up only a small section of this, but are extensive nonetheless. The archive's variety and richness are also intimidating: the superabundance of material, and the proliferation of documentary forms, poses challenges to any attempt to epitomise its contents. Then there is the palimpsestic nature of each record: staring through a magnifying glass at a particularly crabbed secretary hand or trying to discern the shapes of letters in a subscription, one is distracted by multiple markings all over the page, in hands from all subsequent centuries, in ink-pen, ball-point, stencil and pencil. The older materials combine a daunting weightiness with dismaying fragility: collected into hefty folio volumes, individual leaves often crumble in the reader's hands.

The structure and architectonics of the archive also demand attention; its ordering materials and setting, and its rituals of authority, access and denial. The Asia Pacific and Africa Collections room of the British Library is the sole point of access for IOR records, and the main point of access for the materials of the Original India Office Collections (OIOC), incorporating the European Manuscripts collections (Eur MSS, properly part of the IOR) and the collections of the India Office Library (IOL). Access requires a current British Library card and, for most people, the assistance of an archive staff member in navigating the catalogues and computer system. In contrast to the anonymized décor of the British Library's other reading rooms, the Asia Pacific and Africa Collections room contains model ships of the Indian Marine, classical busts of early nineteenth-century Orientalist

[3] Martin Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records* (London: The British Library, 1988), p. xi.

scholars, and Company-commissioned portraits of princes and ambassadors. Looking back towards the issue desk from the back of the long, narrow reading room, one notices a large relief of the EIC coat of arms facing down the rows of desks.[4] Set against these colonial traces are the results of an uneasy post-colonial reorientation; from the 1970s onwards the collections began to include 'modern area studies'. Accordingly, the open-access shelves contain Russian-Amharic dictionaries, encyclopaedias of Armenian Christianity, and elaborate 1980s demographic atlases of Indonesia. Shelves of ring-binders contain the current catalogues, many of which are themselves partially amended versions of older lists: on opening a modern ring binder one often finds hundreds of photocopied pages of a catalogue from the 1880s or the 1910s, with occasional amendments in biro, or a patchwork of introductions, guides and catalogues dating from any time up to the present. Besides this there are the superannuated, subsidiary or additional catalogues and guides, many on open access shelves, featuring earlier arrangements, narratives of collection and collation, and a wealth of explanatory or exegetical material that can include, in the same catalogue, both a sober narrative

[4] In 1970, a "small working party" assigned to deciding the future of the IOL recommended a transition to a two-fold acquisitions policy comprising a blend of "traditional Indological studies" with "modern Asian area studies". The awkwardness of the two phrases accurately reflects the awkwardness of the juxtapositions in the Asia Pacific and Africa Collections room. The older objects - busts, models, portraits - have mostly survived through the IOL, and many having been incorporated within the structure and decor of the IO and before that the East India House. William Foster notes that the Orme bust was bequeathed, along with his papers, by its subject, and inhabited the India Office Reading Room well into the twentieth century. Antoinette Burton may be thinking of them when she complains of the room's "residual clubland" feel. (Antoinette Burton, 'Archive Stories: Gender in the Making of Imperial and Colonial Histories', in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 281-93 (p. 281); William Foster, *The East India House: Its History and Associations* (London: John Lane and the Bodley Head, 1924), pp. 147-149; Martin Moir and Ray Desmond, 'South Asian Material in the India Office Library and Records', *British Library Occasional Papers*, 7: South Asian Records, (London: British Library, 1986), p.14; *India Office Library and Records Annual Report 1970-1971* (London: HMSO, 1971), pp. 68-78).

of inter-Company politicking in the Indonesian Archipelago and an excursus on the destiny of the Aryan races.[5]

The volume and variety of material of the materials one may access in this setting defy any brief description. The three major strands of the IOR's holdings are the records of the EIC (1600-1858), the Board of Control (hereafter BOC; 1784-1858), and the IO (1858-1947). It also contain the records of the Burma Office (1937-48); the records of establishments in Britain attached to the EIC and IO - Haileybury College, Addiscombe Military Seminary, the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, the Company and IO's two lunatic asylums in Ealing and Hackney,[6] and the records of various overseas agencies which maintained administrative links with the Office after it officially ceased to exist.[7] The range of documentation is enormous: besides the more obviously administrative material, there are the private papers, correspondence, photographs and ephemera collected in series such as the European Manuscripts/Private Papers, the Home Miscellaneous (Series H), and indeed spread through various series in any number of contexts. Geographically, the archive reflects the EIC and IO's genuinely global reach: the

---

[5] This is particularly evident in the catalogues made by George Birdwood, who appears throughout this thesis and is studied in depth in Chapter 2. Birdwood, as I will show, had the eccentricity, obstinacy, and (perhaps most importantly) security in his position which enabled him to break up dispassionate catalogues with flamboyant excursions on his imperialist credo; other archivists, so far as their ideological commitments went, were usually more restrained.

[6] All the institutions named here are catalogued in Anthony Farrington, *The Records of the East India College, Haileybury, and Other Institutions* (London: HMSO, 1976).

[7] The latter category includes a fascinating patchwork of record series, many filed under the Accountant General's purview: such as IOR L/AG/40: accounts and records of refugee and evacuee camps in India from c1841 to 1948, and the personal files of repatriates going up to 1958; IOR L/AG/41: accounts of the office of High Commissioner for India in London, up to 1972; and IOR L/AG/46: records of Indian railway companies' London offices and other records relating to railways. Series N: returns of baptisms, marriages and burials, ends only in 1969, the British High Commission for India's cemetery records (IOR R/4) span c1870 to 1967, and the records of the British Administration in Aden (IOR R/20 shelfmarks A-G) end in the same year. In some respects, then, the archive reflects the tail end of the Eastern empire: interestingly, however, some of these record series have not arrived in their entirety, but been contested by the claims of other archives. A large proportion of the personal accounts of repatriated refugees, for instance, are not in the IOR but in Commonwealth Relations Office archive of the FCO. See Moir, *General Guide*, pp. 160-161, pp. 214-215, pp. 263-268; see also P. J. Tuson, *India Office Library and Records: Sources for Middle East Studies* (London: HMSO, 1984).

majority of holdings relate to South and South East Asia, with significant amounts of material from China and Japan, the Indonesian archipelago and Malaya, Singapore, the Middle East, Persia and the Gulf, East Africa and St Helena; closer investigation reveals items such as secret dispatches on affairs in Inner Mongolia, the records of the Company's relations with the United States, or journals of voyages in search of the North-West Passage.[8] The archive spreads itself backwards and forwards in time, too: it contains the lease of a house in Bishopsgate Street dating back to 1482, and the records of many of the agencies related to the IO date to as recently as the 1970s.[9] There is also the archive's archive, the documentation it generates by continuing to exist: from entries in the early Court Minutes recording resolutions to change the arrangement of the records in the attics to the catalogues and handlists that continue to be made, the records of the money that continues to be spent upon the archive's upkeep and housing, and the employment of archivists.[10] An archive's boundaries might be expected to be more or less isomorphic with those of an archivable subject: a person, a domestic space, a family lineage, a parish or county, an organisation, a movement, an office, a state, a group of subjects whom someone has troubled to designate as such and collect materials relating to. In the case of the IOR, this field of activity is almost the entire history of England and Britain's involvement in South Asia between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the middle of the twentieth.

---

[8] See Amar Kaur Jasbir Singh, *A Guide to Source Materials on the India Office Library and Records for the History of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1785-1950* (London: the British Library, 1988), pp. 71-90 on the Political and Secret Department's "external" files; Moir, 'A Study of the History and Organisation of the Political and Secret Departments of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office 1784-1919, with a summary list of records' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1966); Moir, *General Guide*, p. 290. For the North-west Passage see, for example, IOR L/MAR/A/II, the Journal of John Knight, discussed in more detail in chapters 2 and 6.

[9] The 1492 lease is now shelfmarked IOR L/L/2/1348, Legal: Property.

[10] The major sources of this are the Home Miscellaneous series (IOR H), the Surveyor's Department (IOR F) and the Home Establishment and Public works papers (IOR L).

The tissue that the archive spreads over this area, though, is full of holes. It has become a commonplace that what the archive excludes is as important, if not more so, than what it contains, and this is an issue I return to in my discussion of modern archival scholarship. The most quantifiable absence around which the early archives of the EIC are structured is an economic one, in that much of Company employees' real business consisted of malfeasance on a massive scale. Quantitative analysis may go so far as to suggest that it was in fact the private "country" trade which allowed the Company to infiltrate pre-existing networks to the extent that allowed it a foothold on the Subcontinent.[11] Most historical work on this issue has focused on the eighteenth century as the era in which the Company can be said to have reached a comfortable accommodation with private trading, and was indeed famously dependent for its recruitment on the prospect of enormous private fortunes being made. This is reflected in the archives, where private trade becomes freely discussed (if not always quantified), and the EIC instituted mechanisms for assisting and (to an extent) disciplining it, such as bills of exchange for the transfer of privately made money to London.[12] The situation in the seventeenth century is rather more ambiguous: precedent in the Barbary and Levant trade favoured a flexible approach, in which Company factors were often free to supplement their income with private trade should they wish, but the unprecedented distances, scales

[11] See, for example, Emily Erikson and Peter Bearman, 'Malfeasance and the Foundations for Global Trade: the Structure of English Trade in the East Indies, 1601-1833', *American Journal of Sociology*, 112 (2006), 195- 230. Besides its accuracy or otherwise, Erikson and Bearman's essay is fascinating for the manner in which its purely quantitative methodology erases all sense of historical process or context.

[12] H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: the East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 123-124; Holden Furber, *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997); Santhi Hejeebu, 'Contract Enforcement in the English East India Company', *Journal of Economic History*, 65 (2005), 496-523 (pp. 503-504); P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); I. B. Watson, *Foundation for Empire: English Private Trade in India, 1659-1760* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1980).

of commitment and problems of control involved in the EIC's operations made the Court wary of allowing factors to trade on their own accounts. Attempts to discipline such activities resulted in the arraignment of several EIC employees, including George Ball, who was briefly chief factor at Bantam in 1613; but those who were caught or informed upon may noty outnumber those that got away with it, and agents could and did form secret associations amongst themselves to encroachupon the Company's business.[13] By 1621, the Company had formalised a duty-free allowance whereby each man could bring home a chest ("of Foure foot long, 1. Foot & a halfe broad, and 1. foot and a halfe deep") of certain luxury products, to be strictly audited on unlading in London.[14] Since the great majority of merchants' private income was from the "country" trade, this was a futile gesture: and about that country trade the archive remains almost completely silent. Since all papers and possessions were stringently checked on return to London, it seems unlikely that many merchants would attempt to bring home their private accounts. Where the issue appears in the early records, it is usually as a result of minor scandals such as the George Ball affair, or in threats inserted in commissions, or in accusations levelled by one merchant against another: a significant history of economic activity becomes, as far as authorizable history is concerned, largely a matter of personal credit, reputation and rhetoric.[15]

Accepting, then, that the impression of exhuastiveness which the IOR communicates is the reality of these exclusions, the early materials of the IOR, in

---

[13] K. N. Chaudhury, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-stock Company, 1600-1640* (London: Frank Cass, 1965), pp. 74-87; David K. Bassett, 'The Factory at Bantam, 1602-1682: A Historical Study" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1955), p. ii.

[14] *The Lawes or Standing Orders of the East India Company* (London: Edmund Alday, 1621), ESTC (2nd ed.) 7447, p. 64.

[15] See, for instance, the accusation of private trading leveled against Thomas Marlow by John Jourdain in his letter to the Company, transcribed in Appendix A, pp. 325-333, and discussed in Chapter 2.

which the Company's above-board dealings are laid out so exhaustively, are themselves only the shadow of the real archive of imperial origins to which the IOR's makers believed themselves to hold the interpretative key, and casts a new slant on Seeley's famous saw: if this is how the foundations of territorial empire were laid, England's "fit of absence of mind"[16] was at least partially a carefully calibrated tactic of wilful blindness.

My research is concerned with two relatively small areas of the enormous archival fabric of the IOR. The first of these is comprised of the early records of the East India Company as they relate to overseas activity, from the granting of the first charter in 1599 to about 1625. In geographical terms, this is something of a fictional distinction: as I demonstrate in Chapter 1, distinctions between the EIC's "home establishment" and that which took place outside of it begin to look sketchy in the extreme when one studies the documents produced as products and constitutive parts of a mobile network of linkages rather than a constellation of static points. [17] The chronological bounding, too, is somewhat tenuous: I focus on the first twenty five years as very roughly delineating a period in which specific developments took place. Foremost among these was the establishment of a network of factories between Persia and Japan, and the initial instantiation of the Presidency system; this involved the establishment of a triangular trade between Europe, the Indian

[16] J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1884), p. 8.

[17] Defining geographical terms in the enormous part of the globe covered by this thesis places one at the risk of being caught between contesting periodicities, political commitments and historiographical teleologies, none of which are unproblematic. Most of the terms I use are determined pragmatically by the structure of the EIC's activities. 'The [Indonesian] archipelago' refers roughly to the area of present-day Indonesia (including the whole island of Timor), the Malayan Peninsula, Borneo and the Philippines (although the last two appear rarely), which can be seen to constitute one area of operations. 'The Subcontinent' I use (with full acknowledgment of the phrase's problematic politics) to refer to roughly the area of present-day Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, and I use 'Indian Ocean' to refer to the oceanic space bounded by the Cape of Good Hope, the Persian Gulf and Red Sea to theWest and Thailand, the Malayan Peninsula and the westward boundaries of the archipelago to the East.

subcontinent and the Indonesian archipelago which supplied the EIC's main source of income. This period also saw, from 1613 onward, the consolidation of terminably-financed voyages into an interminable joint-stock model. The political context, though unstable, was one in which the English and Dutch Companies (and to some extent the Danes and the Portuguese) competed, sometimes violently, for trading rights and diplomatic relations with the dispersed city states and clientdoms of the archipelago without quite coming into open and declared hostility. Not all of these processes or conditions are bounded by the first two and a half decades of the EIC's existence, but the period does offer a rough frame within which to view a documentary culture developing, adapting old practices to new contexts and needs, and beginning to sustain and support a monopolistic trading body on a long-term basis. In fact, the geographical and chronological bounds I draw around this area are partly determined by the archival series whose foundational logics this thesis purports to critique. The Original Correspondence, (IOR E/1/3), the Marine Records (IOR L/MAR/A), and the Factory Records (IOR G) all largely exclude documents related to the running of the EIC within London: such records appear instead in the Court Records and Home Miscellaneous series (IOR series M and H respectively). Similarly, where I break my supposed boundaries - in studying the Parchment Records (IOR A/1) in Chapter 2, and records dating from the late seventeenth century in Chapter 5 - the line of my attention again follows the dictates of archival form and history. The Parchment Records bear a foundational relation to the narrative of Birdwood's work in the IOR and to his archival practice; the Factory Records, being organised according to geographical space rather thanm chronology, enforce in the gaze of anyone studying them a kind of replication of their structural distortions, in which space is rendered highly (and often spuriously)

specific, and time is collapsed. Likewise, my chapter on the formation of the Marine Records is shaped by a case study of Clements Markham's edition of *The Voyages of James Lancaster*:[18] and to a large extent it is that edition that shapes my choice of journals described in Chapter 1.

In each of these instances, it is easy to believe that one has dealt with the archivists' and historiographers' more shallowly interpretative strategies; the superstructures and paratexts of footnote, introduction, catalogue and exegesis are to some extent clearly delineated and easily seen past. The arguments of structure, however, are more challenging: in asserting series and category, in dictating what constitutes similitude between any two documents and what difference, the archive also dictates the terms and the circumstances of access as surely as it does through its architectural form and its protocols of admission and use. In doing so, it exerts a shaping force upon the narratives into which those documents might be placed. Indeed, Achille Mbembe explicitly places the organisation of the archive's files within the "architectural dimension" without which "the archive has neither status nor power". When he writes of the archive as a place in which the traces of the dead might be restrained and policed, lest they "acquire a life of their own", that "[f]undamentally, the dead should be formally prohibited from stirring up disorder in the present", his use of "formally" may well be double-edged: the power of the archive to police access and interpretation is enforced not only through the authority to permit or deny, but also through the precise shapes in which it disperses its material.[19] It is to this authority, and how it is formulated, that I now turn.

---

[18] *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies, with abstracts of voyages to the East Indies, during the seventeenth century, preserved in the India Office; and the Voyage of Captain John Knight (1606), to seek the North-West Passage*, ed. by Clements Markham, Hakluyt Society 1st series, 56 (1876: Hakluyt Society, London).

[19] Achille Mbembe, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton and others (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp. 19-26 (p. 22).

ii: Archives and The Archive: the field of study

In 1891, at the end of the period of archival construction upon which this thesis focuses, George Birdwood added some supplementary appendices to a new edition of his *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*. One passage in particular provides an illustration of how he conceived of his acheivement, or wished others to conceive of it:

> It is a true pleasure to me to here testify to the wonderful improvement that has been effected since 1879 in the order and condition of the India Office Records. The first step was to procure more space for them than was formerly allowed; and this having been obtained, the many thousands of loose papers that had hitherto been simply tied up in vaguely-assorted bundles were carefully collated with the documents in the better preserved regular series of the records, and bound up with them in chronological order; the volumes comprising each series being consecutively numbered, and placed in distinct ranges of cases. The royal charters, and other parchment records still in existence, have been unfolded, cleaned, flattened, and, after careful examination, put away in large shallow boxes, shelved on a specially constructed locking skeleton cupboard, standing in the centre of the muniment, provided entirely for these "Parchment Records," as they are now designated, and other special relics of the late Honourable East India Company. The bulk of the documents in the general Record Rooms are distributed in such a way as, in the first place, to best subserve the purposes of the Departments requiring constant access to them. But the convenience of the public has also been considered in the arrangements adopted, and, when they are completed and in full operation, it will be possible for anyone provided with the proper authority to obtain, within a few minutes, any volume that may be wanted from any of the India Office Record Rooms.[20]

Birdwood had cause for pleasure: he had spent the past sixteen years aggressively lobbying, wheedling, bullying and berating his employers, colleagues and underlings in the IO to create his muniment, and the India Office Records (IOR)

[20] George Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891) p.viii-ix. Henceforth referred to as *Report on the Old Records* (1891) to distinguish from the 1889 edition of the same title and its 1878 precursor *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office, November 1, 1878* (London: HMSO, 1879).

was to a large extent his brainchild.[21] His original report of 1878 was republished, not this time as an HMSO pamphlet but as a commercially-published book, with the original *Miscellaneous Old Records* changed to simply *Old Records*: the change in title indicates, perhaps, the passage from the sense of a dispersed and disordered body of material submitted to a preliminary survey, to the concentration and consolidation of an ordered archival category.[22] The new *Report*, outfitted with appendices and short essays (including, as shall be seen in Chapter 3, copies of some of the correspondence associated with the beginning of the archivization process) could be read as a public argument of the project's success, of Birdwood's own standing as a state-sponsored archivist/antiquarian, and of the IO's continued investment and confidence in the project.

This passage describes some of the procedures by which Birdwood, at least, aimed to produce the invented tradition or master narrative of early modern empire – we might note, for example, that here as elsewhere, he only ever refers to the EIC as "the Honourable East India Company". It also itemises rather neatly the specifically archival procedures by which that was to be achieved, and mobilises many of the tropes with which he conceptualized, articulated and propagandized his archival project. The primary claim is to having recovered order out of chaos, through the careful application of responsible custodianship and taxonomic rigour. The conscientious archivist judges previous archival regimes, distinguishing order from disorder, "vaguely-assorted bundles" from "better-preserved regular series", and liquidates the former in order to improve the latter. The series thus produced

[21] Throughout this thesis I use "IOR" in the singular when referring to it as a bounded archival structure and system of ordering; I use it in the plural when referring to records contained within that structure.

[22] George Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office, November 1, 1878* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode for HMSO, 1879). Henceforth referred to as *Report on the Miscelleaneous Old Records* (1878).

are sorted by chronology, indexed by number, fixed by binding, and interred in the "distinct ranges of cases" which finalise the material expression of the taxonomic scheme: the body of the archive is anatomised, dissected and fixed in place, each part labelled to distinguish it from others. Distinction, however, is also a moral act, and the act of recovery and sorting is also an act of redemption: the "special relics" are treated with veneration ("unfolded, cleaned, flattened", afforded "careful examination") and installed in a central position for reverential keeping in a "specially constructed locking... cupboard". Order, discernment and a sense of proper veneration all distinguish the archivist from his predecessors: those predecessors, it is implied, could not or would not distinguish between records and relics; did not provide within the archive sufficient architectural space for the records' proper arrangement and ease of consultation, much less an appropriate sense of the sacred; and had no sense of the superiority of solid bindings and distinct ranges of cases (fixed, ordered, sequential) over bundles (loose, fungible, subject to promiscuous shuffling). Finally, Birdwood alludes to the archive's continuing use as a technology of rule, as an active part of the IO, its "distribution" determined by the needs of imperial bureaucracy. But "the convenience of the public" also demands attention: the archive is to have value as a tool for pedagogy, genealogy, remembrance and propaganda, for the writing of histories that supply the public with narratives and exegeses of empire. But those allowed in must, of course, be "provided with the proper authority": the central muniment is well provided with locks, and the archive is to be neither promiscuous nor porous.

Much of this ideology of the archive is articulated in Birdwood's use of "muniment". The word can refer to a single document, usually one embodying, encoding or delegating authority: a legal contract, certificate, commission or

instrument. It can also mean a repository of such documents, typically secured against unauthorized entry. Finally, it can refer to a fortified stronghold. In each case it conveys authority, immutability and boundedness. The archive's authority, in Birdwood's formulation, is both the authority over history which it establishes by collecting the materials of the past within its walls and subjecting them to the discipline of its formal arrangements, and the authority which it enables as the working archive of an imperial state.

Much critical writing on archives, and on 'the archive', has begun with this invocation of authority: the opening pages of *Archive Fever* name the archive, through its Greek etymology, as "at once the *commencement* and the *commandment*", the site where epistemological and legal/political authority intersect.[23] The power of Birdwood's archive is explicitly authorized by its command of memory; and this, in fact, is perhaps the single most important determinant in how the EIC's old records were archived after 1875. The obsessive search for originary moments dominates the process of archivization: the parchment records that Birdwood places in the centre of the muniment are the charters, treaties and commissions of the company's early decades, the documents under royal seal which, quite literally, inaugurate and instantiate the EIC's power to act.[24] Even after the end of his career in the IO, Birdwood was still writing feverishly about these documents. "Of the minor charters a large number are to be found at the India

[23] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 1; See also Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World-History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). Guha expands on Derrida's etymological point, noting that the Aristotelian *archai* are principles conceived of as primary, prior to anything else, and therefore – a point which encapsulates perfectly the implicit aspiration of a project of archivization such as the one here studied – not dependent on external verification or validation. (Guha, *History at the Limit of World-History*, pp. 49-51).

[24] I discuss these documents in depth in Chapter 2; for a study of their legal and constitutional implications and precedents, see Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3-16.

Office, but many are also lost to sight. It is not likely that any of the missing muniments have actually perished. *They are assuredly lying hid somewhere, and a systematic search should be made for them;* and above all for the CHARTER OF ELIZABETH."[25] [Birdwood's emphasis.] The charter to which he refers is that signed by Elizabeth I on the evening of 31 December 1599. In Chapter 4 I argue that this establishment of the archive, as a conscious event of inauguration on behalf of its creator(s), is itself a manufactured originary moment, of which the whole significance is that it recovers the authentic meaning of that first originary moment of 1599. Just as the charter of Elizabeth will turn out to have created a company which constructs an empire, Birdwood's founding of his muniment authorizes the archive's, and its controllers', command over history.[26]

Locating these moments of inception, however, is only the beginning of the archive: they must also be ordered and policed. Derrida discusses the process of "*domiciliation*" or "house arrest", as an "institutional passage from the private to the public", in which documents are "kept and classified under the title of the archive by virtue of a privileged *topology*".[27] Hence, again, "muniment": in evoking the intersecting meanings of domesticity, defensive violence, legal authority and security, Birdwood performs something of the same operation on the archive's suite of rooms in the IO as Derrida identifies occurring in the transition of the Freud House from private residence to public museum. The archive, as Achille Mbembe points out, is "not an object, but a status"; to be included within the archive is a kind of election, and to be enshrined in its very centre is to partake of a particularly high

[25] *Relics of the Honourable East India Company: A Series of Fifty Plates with Letterpress*, ed. by George Birdwood and William Foster (London: Quaritch, 1909), p. i.
[26] See Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 3-10 for a short discussion of Derrida, Freud, and the archive as a site for the fetishistic search for origins.
[27] Derrida, pp. 2-3.

order of election.[28]

While Birdwood invokes his archive's dual function as repository of historical evidence and as active technology of rule, he is distinctly vague about the precise relationship between the two: the boundary between "[t]he bulk of the documents" and the "special relics" is unspecified, although a greater volume of the records catalogued in the same volume must have necessarily belonged to the latter category. There is perhaps a tension here between the claims of antiquarianism and government that owes something to Birdwood's own personal and cultural affiliations, which I expore further in Chapter 4; but there is also a tension between two conceptions of the archive – as a place of privileged historical recovery and as a site of the concentration and organisation of imperial power – that must be dealt with in any discussion of the relevance of historiography within the imperial project.

Much critical writing about archives and empire has focused on archives as a technology of rule.[29] In the case of late nineteenth-century empires especially, discussion often has to deal with the kinds of fantasies studied in Thomas Richards' influential monograph *The Imperial Archive*:

> Victorian England charged a variety of state facilities with the special task of maintaining the possibility of comprehensive knowledge…This operational field of projected total knowledge was the archive. The archive was not a building, nor even a collection of texts, but the collectively imagined junction of all that was known or knowable, a fantastic representation of an epistemological master pattern, a virtual focal point for the heterogeneous local knowledge of metropolis and empire.[30]

---

[28] Mbembe, p. 20.

[29] For relatively recent short summations of the state of the field, see Tony Ballantyne, 'Archive, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian Historiography', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 3 (2001), 87-105; Anjali Arondekar, 'Without a Trace: Sexuality and the Colonial Archive', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 14 (2005), 10-27 (pp. 10-18).

[30] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 11.

Whether "Victorian England" did in fact consciously pursue such a project is rather open to question. Richards' wording is conveniently vague here, and his focus on fictional texts allows him to avoid referring to specific archives (although the British Museum appears frequently in his readings of *Kim* as a kind of metonymic stand-in for an Imperial ur-archive).[31] The fantasy he elucidates emerges from positivist Enlightenment regimes of ordered knowledge and the epistemological practices of global geography, cartography and surveying.[32] Its activation in imperial discourse, in his argument, is often a reaction against the threat of the unknown and the unmastered: the possibility of invasion, sedition, conspiracy, and entropic systems collapse.[33] 'The archive', for Richards, both subsumes and erases the particularity of single, material archives. An archive (a secular configuration of architecture, objects, systems of classification) has walls, bounds and divisions. Its contents are stubbornly material and factual, resistant to combination and mobility, and fatally limited. The fantasy Richards anatomises is that of an archive which is immaterial, frictionless, and omnipresent to those with the power to access it).[34] This is a fantasy that was explicitly articulated, not only in literature, but in government: in Chapter 6 I study how Clements Markham's work in the Geographical Department led him to invest in a scheme for a frictionless and totalizing repository of imperial information, to which the usual structures of time, space and epistemological incommensurability would not apply. It is also a fantasy which persistently dogs almost all attempts to approach the archives of colonialism, or indeed archives in general.

---

[31] Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, p. 15, p. 112, p. 142, p. 151.
[32] Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, pp. 13-22.
[33] Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, pp. 42-43, pp. 73-109.
[34] Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, p. 118.

This persistence might be attributed at least in part to the rhetoric of the discipline of history itself. As I briefly outline in Chapter 3, the consolidation of history as an academic discipline was broadly coextensive with the formation of national and civic archives in the early to mid nineteenth century, and partook of many of the same epistemological procedures. Romantic antiquarianism and historiography insisted that the dead could be resurrected from their material traces, and the disciplinization of Rankean research practice privileged the archive as a neutral repository from which, with the right procedures, the whole truth of the past could be recovered; in codifying such aspirations as essential components of their discipline, historians reflexively valorized the archive as a privileged site of recovery and resurrection.[35] By 1898, the declarative opening sentence of Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos' *Introduction aux études historiques* read: "[l]'histoire se fait avec des documents."[36] The same year saw the publication of Muller, Feith and Fruin's manual of archival practice, which has been widely accepted by archivel scholars as codifying a model of the professional archivist – liberal, cautious, scientific, aspiring to a benign neutrality based on the principles of provenance and *respect des fonds* – that arguably still holds considerable power.[37] The archivist himself having been disciplined, he was now ready, as Eric Ketelaar argues, to become the conscientious guarantor of "the contractual

[35] Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, 'Leopold Ranke's Archival Turn: Location and Evidence in Modern Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History*, 5 (2008), 425-453; Steedman, pp. 26-28; Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 155-60, pp. 164-57.

[36] Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, ed. by Madeleine Reberioux (Paris: Kimé, 1992), p. 29; quoted in Jo Tollebeek, '"Turn'd to Dust and Tears": Revisiting the Archive', *History and Theory*, 43 (2004), 237-248 (p. 242).

[37] Wendy Duff and Verne Harris, 'Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 263-285 (p. 263). For a fuller exploration of the history of the Dutch manual, see Eric Ketelaar, 'Muller, Feith and Fruin' and 'Archival Theory and the Dutch Manual', in Ketelaar, *The Archival Image: Collected Essays* (Hilversum: Hilversum Verloren, 1997), pp. 43-54, pp. 55-66.

relationship that exists between citizens and their government which the records document"; or, put another way, the agent of the state's capture and structuring of the historical record.[38] The processes by which 'official' archives processed information and produced knowledge had become entrenched social scripts by which a professionalised activity constructed its own legitimacy.[39]

Not unlike the narrative of professionalisation to which it is related, this is a narrative with a problematic implicit teleology; and one, moreover, that is a little too quick to take the claims of power at face value. Archives are naturally messy and contingent structures, and the scripts by which they operate, however formalised, are subject to constant change. Colonial history especially, however, has to deal with versions of the total colonial archive at every turn: the colonised world, mediated and produced to an extent first in the Saidian application of Foucault's conception of the archive to the West's creation of the 'Orient', and then in undertaking work within the concrete archives produced by colonial states, with their particularly troublesome structures, taxonomies and modes of attention.

The post-colonial turn, and the work of the subaltern studies collective, proposed two major interventions. The first was to argue that the collective archive of the coloniser's knowledge and production of the colonised, formulated after Foucault as a "law of what can be said", is deeply implicated in the exertion of power.[40] The second was to point out that even in the properly 'historical' archive, the dispersed repositories of documents in which positivist historical scholarship

---

[38] Ketelaar, *The Archival Image*, p. 23.

[39] Terry Cook and Joan Schwartz, 'Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 171-185 (pp. 172-3).

[40] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock, 1972; repr. London: Routledge, 2002), p. 145; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1978; repr. London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 111-197; Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), pp. 47-72.

might be carried out, each archive's structures of attention and privilege replicate those of the power structures which produced it, and thus erase or occlude the histories, and even the existence, of entire subaltern populations. The fundamental problem, in Michel-Rolphe Trouillot's phrase, is the "differential control of the means of historical production".[41]

Recognising this, and attempting to deal specifically with the exclusions the archive enforces, can risk replicating the totalizing logic of the archive's own argument. Gayatri Spivak ends her influential essay *The Rani of Sirmur* by concuding that "[c]aught in the cracks between the production of the archives and indigenous patriarchy,… there is no 'real Rani' to be found."[42] This might be seen as manifesting a kind of Foucauldian pessimism about the totality of power and the finality of epistemic violence: the essay becomes, in a sense, a work of mourning for a lost subject, and the assertion that the subaltern cannot speak verges on becoming a refusal to allow for the persistence of meaningful traces.

Perhaps the most productive route forward from this bind has proved to be the wide range of scholarship which commits itself to an ethnographic reading of archives. Burton, Nicholas Dirks, Ann Laura Stoler, and most recently Katherine Verdery have all engaged in studies which approach archives as "both transparencies on which power relations were inscribed and intricate technologies of rule".[43] Stoler differentiates this "ethnographic"mode from a merely "extractive"

---

[41] Michel-Rolphe Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), p. 49.

[42] Gayatri Charavorty Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives', *History and Theory*, 24 (1985), 247-272 (p. 271).

[43] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 20; see also Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Dirks, Nicholas B., 'Castes of Mind', *Representations*, 37 (1992), 56-78; Katherine Verdery, *Secrets and Truth: Ethnography in the Archive of Romania's Secret Police* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013).

approach which views archives merely as sources for historical documents which might be studied in their own right: accepting Dirks' argument that "[t]he state produces, adjudicates, organizes, and maintains the discourses that become available as the 'primary' texts of history", the mechanisms of the archive itself come into focus as a means for reading against the grain of the narratives of power.[44] In studying her own surveillance file from the archives of the Romanian *Securitate*, Verdery follows the scripts pioneered by Stoler and Dirks in undertaking a close reading of the archive's procedures of producing social meaning. To Verdery, interrogating the conceptual labour of the *Securitate* archive, and the precise means by which information was produced, reproduced and circulated within its structures, is a means towards an 'auto-ethnography' which does considerable violence to her own subjective memories of the events it details. It also allows a juxtaposition of perspective in which the archive's claims to panoptical mastery, and by extension those of the totalitarian state, might be closely interrogated.[45] Carlo Ginzburg's work with the archives of the Inquisition established the usefulness of 'hostile' documents in reconstructing, however partially, the subjectivities of those subjected to the state's repressive attentions: Verdery is particularly impressive in combining this approach with an interrogation not only of the archives' procedures of inquiry and classification, and the ways in which the *Securitate* "produced class enemies", but also the shapes in which it disposed its materials, its processes of duplication and "conspirativity".[46] Unlike

[44] Nicholas B. Dirks, 'The Crimes of Colonialism: Anthropology and the Textualization of India', in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Pels (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 153-179, (p. 175); Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Hamilton and others, pp. 83-101 (p. 84).

[45] Verdery, pp. 21-22.

[46] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Ginzburg, 'The Inquisitor as Anthropologist', in *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi

Ginzburg's unfortunate Menocchio, Verdery is in the unusual position of being able, to some extent, to speak back.[47]

Whilst one of the strengths of Stoler, Burton *et al*'s interventions has been to recognize the ways in which archives are products of ritual and social script, they are frequently silent about the actors who enable the ritual and put the script into practice; when archives are described as "transparencies on which power relations were inscribed", there is often little sense of the inscribing hand, its waywardness, or the frictions it produces.[48] If ethnographic readings allow a view of the individual archive that notes its social agency, its reflection of cultures and structures of feeling over time, and its situatedness in the facticity of its time, place and architectonics, they tend to pay attention to individual archival actors only when they are the originators or agents of subaltern, reclusive, marginal or otherwise 'non-official archives. Such subjects might include the cultural archives of folklore and tradition, the archive of the human body and memory, the architectural and experiential archives of public or domestic space. The study of such a wide variety of phenomena as archival subjects arguably performs crucial work in that it not only implicitly contests the primacy of the official archive, but allows us to return to that archive with an extended range of tools of enquiry and contestation. While Burton's *Dwelling in the Archive* or Horatio Roque Ramirez's work on Teresita la Campesina, for example, are written partly as critiques of the official archives which have erased their subjects from history, they also stand as assertions that the attempt was less than successful.[49] The distinction between the official and non-official, however, is

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989; repr. 2013), pp. 141-148; Verdery, p. 23.

[47] Verdery, pp. 39-40.

[48] Stoler, 'Along the Archival Grain', p. 20.

[49] Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, pp. 138-139; Horatio N. Roque Ramirez, 'A Living Archive of Desire: Teresita la Campesina and the Embodiment of Queer Latino Community Histories', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham,

not clear-cut: the archives of state and police, and the rules that govern their disposition, are constructed by individuals often in thrall to their own eccentricities and ideological conditioning, and the exact and situated procedures by which, in Dirks's formulation, the state makes available the materials for the writing of history still requires some study.

Over the past two decades, something like this engagement has begun to emerge from archivists themselves, as archival science has opened up a fruitful critical argument with the bases of its own disciplinization. Approaching from a position grounded in archival parctice, work by David Bearman, Richard Cox, Terry Cook and Joan Schwartz, Wendy Duff and Verne Harris, Elisabeth Kaplan and Eric Ketelaar have applied the theoretical concerns of post-structuralism, post-colonialism and ethnography to developing a fuller conceptualization of the position of the archivist in the work of creating historical narrative.[50] In recognising archives as, in Cook and Schwartz's words, "anything but natural, organic, innocent residues of disinterested administrative transactions", but rather instruments of power which "emerge from organizational cultures and personal psychologies of great complexity, multiple relationships, and many identities",[51] this strain of scholarship performs two essential moves. The first is to recognise, as archivists, that the tacit assumptions of the professional archival culture codified in the late nineteenth century have been rendered largely untenable, and that a reformulation

NC: Duke Unversity Press, 2005), pp. 111-135.

[50] Cook and Schwartz, 'Archives, Records, and Power'; Richard Cox, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004); Wendy Duff and Verne Harris, 'Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 263-285; Elisabeth Kaplan, 'Many Paths to Partial Truths: Archives, Anthropology and the Power of Representation' *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 209-220; Eric Ketelaar, 'Cultivating Archives: Meanings and Identities', *Archival Science*, 12 (2012), 19-33; Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science*, 7 (2007), 343-357.

[51] Cook and Schwartz, p. 178.

of current archival practice is an urgent necessity; the other is to reinscribe in historians' accounts of archives the figure of the archivist as an active agent whose own individual and collective subjectivities exert influence on the archive's disposition. Rather than the "grey, patient, documentary" figure of the genealogist, or even the liberal fantasy of the disinterestedly benign intermediary between the individual and the state endorsed by Ketelaar, Cook and Schwartz acknowledge archivists as "performers in the drama of memory-making".[52]

It is that kind of performance that I attempt to study in Birdwood and his colleagues at the IOR. In making his "muniment", Birdwood was actively engaging himself in the promotion of narrative, by a conscious effort to arrange, taxonomise, define and produce the materials by which a history of the early EIC might be written. He did this sometimes with the blessing of the state agency he workd for and sometimes in the face of its irritation or indifference; he related to his insitutional, social, and political contexts in specific ways that were reflected in his manipulation of the records. This is true, too, of his protegées and colleagues, who followed the scripts he laid down. It is true, too, of Clements Markham, whose attempts to absorb the materials of the past into a totalizing apparatus of power returns my thesis, at the end, to the fantasy of the panoptical archive.

iii: Methodologies

The primary methodological issue in this study is the split between the study of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The issue of whether to aggregate my research on the original materials in one section, or to disperse it throughout the

[52] Cook and Schwartz, p. 172; Ketelaar, *The Archival Image*, p. 23; Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', p. 83.

chapters focusing on the archivization of each documentary type, generates objections and obstacles on either side. I chose aggregation, by a small margin, in the hope that it provides more scope for a reading of the early Company's documentary culture as integrated, improvisatory and adaptable, constituted of documentary forms that were mobile and often resistant to generic classification. While my choice of documentary modes is determined by what the IOR archivists chose to study – charters and commissions for Birdwood, factory records and letters for Foster and Danvers, and journals for Markham – an argument concerned with the fragility of those archivists' classificatory procedures would not be served by reinforcing those divisions any more than necessary in the structure of my thesis. If I hoped, in my arguments, to undertake a partial recovery of the seventeenth-century materials from the structures in which the nineteenth century ordered them, I had to undertake a study of them which was whole, integrated, and afforded them a kind of structural independence. The costs of this choice may include a partial loss of the sense of intimate engagement between the records and their archivists. While this study is concerned with cultural incommensurability, misprision and misappropriation across a large historical gulf, a complete estrangement is unproductive; nonetheless that gulf must be respected, and the identification of misprision depends upon as full an understanding as possible of the materials being misprised.

That understanding, though, is faced by two obstacles. The first, and most serious, is the inherent paradox of attempting to read any archive against its contents, of combining "ethnographic" and "extractive" approaches as if each did not partially displace or at best destabilise the other.[53] If the archival object is to be

[53] Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', p. 84.

understood as a heavily mediated, overwritten and overdetermined site of historical debate and anxiety, the possibility of recovering any originary document seems remote. Moreover, fantasies of total recovery and privileged epistemological access, and the historical claims they enable, are precisely what this study sets out to interrogate: identifying the materials' resistance to these fantasies cannot help but rest upon an implicit claim to superior comprehension which looks doubly spurious in the light of those materials' mediation by the holders of those very fantasies. And yet to dismiss the attempt on this basis would be to accede to a kind of hopelessness in the face of the archive's power, and to fail to contest historiographical discourses which still shape (albeit it in different ways), both popular and academic responses to the histories of colony and empire. The quest for an originary document untouched by the contexts through which it has moved since its creation and first use is a quixotic one; nonetheless, some trace of the document remains, however compromised and fragmentary. The fact of its having beome a palimpsest of intervention and interpretation does not erase that trace, and nor does it prevent one from discerning ways in which it resists subsequent interventions. In order to undertake this kind of reading across an archival structure, one must start from the proposition (which is also a hope) that the contents of an archive may be stronger, and longer lasting, than its regimes of ordering and interpretation; but one must also cleave strongly to the proviso that one's own ability to discern the precise sites of its resistance may be partially obscured by those ordering structures themselves.

The second obstacle to undertaking a full account of both the early materials and their nineteenth-century archivization is the divergence in the languages and practices of scholarship in the two fields. On the one hand, the renewed interest since the 1980s in early modern trade and the roots of empire, the "imperial turn"

and the "new thalassology" have intersected with the archival turn, New Historicism and interest in material culture as a historical discipline, to focus scholarly attention on the early colonial archive.[54] Scholars such as Miles Ogborn, Lynn Magnusson and Richmond Barbour have begun to pay attention to the rich and extensive archives of the East India Company, bringing to bear the full force of the past two decades' revision in the study of early modern documentation.[55] However, few of these scholars - and, in fact, very few early modern scholars in general - have rigorously acknowledged the ways in which the archives they use have been multiply mediated by archivists, particularly those working in the nineteenth century, and usually committed for a variety of reasons to prioritising certain historical narratives and structuring their archives accordingly. Simultaneously, the rich vein of work on high Victorian and Edwardian imperialism that has emerged since the 1980s has not yet had its own "archival turn": in many cases, where it refers to historical archives it tends to revert to Foucauldian abstraction, abandoning the close attention to the material and specific that it comfortably applies to studies of architectural or museological histories. In attempting to bring these fields together (however tentatively, fragmentarily and perhaps unsuccessfully) I hope to demonstrate how each field might be enriched by a knowledge of the other's

---

[54] For a thematic guide to the state of the scholarly field see Phillip Stern, 'History and Historiography of the English East India Company: Past, Present, and Future!', *History Compass*, 7 (2009), 1146-1180.

[55] Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1676-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Barbour, '"There Is Our Commission": Writing and Authority in "Measure for Measure" and the London East India Company', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 99 (2000), 193-214; Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals: Writing and Performance in the London East India Company, 1607-10* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Barbour, 'The East India Company Journal of Anthony Marlowe, 1607-1608', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 255-231; Lynne Magnusson, 'East India Company Commissioning Letters, 1600-1614: Risk Management and Prosaic Creativity', essay presented at ISC Seminar, August 2006; Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink*: *Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Ogborn, 'Writing Travels: Power, Knowledge and Ritual on the English East India Company's Early Voyages', *Transactions of the Insititute of British Geographers*, 27 (2002), 155-171.

languages and methodologies: that a theoretically rigorous conceptualization of the archive as a product of specific cultures might assist early modern scholars studying colonial or proto-colonial archives, and that a close attention to the material and textural aspects of historical archives' contents might strengthen the arguments of historians of imperialist culture.

Another methodological sticking-point is that, in exploring the development of the IOR's archival regimes, I place considerable emphasis on the influence of individuals. George Birdwood (1832-1917) is the prime mover behind the initial organisation of the 17th century materials within the IOR, and is a formative presence throughout this thesis: his protegées Frederick Charles Danvers (1833-1906) and William Foster (1863-1951) come into sharper focus in Chapter 5; and Chapter 6 pays close attention to the career of Clements R. Markham (1830-1916). I attempt to show how the conviction, idiosyncrasy and caprice of these individual actors contributed to the archive's shaping, how their structural and paratextual interventions in the archives reflected their careers and personalities, and where their individual agency or intention was defeated by the resistance of bureaucracy, contingency, cultural opposition, and the materials of the archive itself.

This use of a biographical approach has clear advantages, but should qualified with an acknowledgment of both its obvious dangers and its complex position within imperial historiography. As a genre of historical narrative, biography has a guilty past: as Peter Pels notes, the form has a long history as "a powerful weapon in legitimating the colonial enterprise".[56] Its rhetorics and procedures are in large part a product of the nineteenth century, and particularly of

[56] Peter Pels, 'Afterword: Writing in the Margins of Marginal Discipline', in *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall (London: Tauris, 2007), pp. 221-236 (p. 229).

the development of national and imperial historiographical and literary cultures which found in it an adaptable and durable intstrument. As Elizabeth Baigent points out in her essay on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the foundation of a project like the *ODNB* (which for Britain occurred in 1882) might well be placed alongside Benedict Anderson's map, census, dictionary and encyclopaedia in the itinerary of enterprises by which a national state identity might be consolidated and policed; and a Macaulayish cult of biographical history was certainly useful to the formation of historical narratives which could define, excuse and propagandize colonialism to both colonial and metropolitan publics.[57] Indeed, the profusion of biographical narrative from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can seem a positive hindrance to the historian. Leigh Dale's work on George Grey, for example, demonstrates a sustained effort to penetrate the "edifice of biography" that surrounds his subject; and notes, too, Grey's own fluency in the rhetorical modes of (auto)biography and his efforts to shape the narrative of his own "career".[58]

In its innate tendency to emphasize the agency of the individual, imperial biography tends to efface the cultural and material power structures through which the individual moves – and of which, more often than not, the individual being written about is both agent and beneficiary. This ability to recast histories of enormous systemic exploitation as collections of discrete narratives of bourgeois (and usually masculine) individualism arguably constiututes much of its usefulness to imperialist culture. Further, by establishing a sense of metonymy between the

---

[57] Elizabeth Baigent, 'The Geography of Biography, the Biography of Geography: Rewriting the *Dictionary of National Biography*', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 531-551 (p. 531); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: London, 1983) pp. 163-186.

[58] Leigh Dale, 'George Grey in Ireland: Narrative and Network', in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 145-175 (p. 153); see also Dale, 'George Grey in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa', in *Writing, Travel and Empire*, ed. by Hulme and McDougall, pp. 19-42.

biographical subject and the power structure (state, nation, or empire) of which he is the emissary, it also gives that structure a human face endowed with human qualities: masculine steadfastness, endurance, uprightness, moral and sexual incorruptiblity, industriousness, and thrift. Many of the Hakluyt Society volumes dicussed in Chapter 6 are exercises in precisely this kind of biography, and – as I hope I demonstrate – they exemplify how a focus on the individual gentleman-navigator was a common device, however spuriously applied on occasion, for the organisation of reverential narratives concerning exploration and early trading ventures.

Individuals' ability to leave records from which biography might be written also depends upon those individuals' membership of privileged communities of class, race, and gender.[59] I note above the rich vein of scholarship dedicated to the problematics of the recovery of subaltern subjects from archival silences and erasures. That the histories of such people only become legible when their subjects run, in Stoler's words, "across and athwart state-archived paper trails" might not, indeed, make them less complete than traditional biography: the 'career' of the man who speaks, who commands archive and human labour and territory, and who is not only afforded the opportunity to narrate his progress but actively encouraged to do so, is also a desperately partial narrative whose impression of wholeness is arguably a fiction enforced by authority.[60] We might note here the ways in which both William Foster's edition of the journal of the early EIC merchant John Jourdain

[59] Baigent's article on the *ODNB* is particularly interesting in its critique of the *Dictionary*'s purview as traditionally elite, male and metropolitan, and its exploration of the difficulty of approaching the legacy of colonialism in attempting to incorporate a greater proportion of female, subaltern and non-metropolitan lives. Whether the very notion of a 'Dictionary of National Biography' is inherently inimical to such attempts to temper the exclusionary biases of the historical record is, perhaps, another question. (Baigent, pp. 534-542).

[60] Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', *Journal of American History*, 88 (2001), 829-865 (p. 862).

(c.1572-1619) and John Kaye's book on Charles Metcalfe (1785-1846) enlist their subjects into a cult of vigorous sporting boyhood, based on no evidence at all in the former case and in defiance of the available evidence in the latter. Kaye also avoids, in the entirety of his Metcalfe volume, any mention at all of his subject's Sikh wife and their children.[61]

The fact that biography is now viewed as such a problematic historical technique, especially perhaps by historians of empire, may owe something to this discreditable history, but that is not to say that it should be entirely abandoned. Historians of earlier periods, such as Alison Games, Miles Ogborn and Anna Winterbottom, are often less hesitant about the utility of biographical narrative in tracing the formation of the networks by which knowledge and capital moved around the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century world.[62] This can be partially accounted for by the more obviously mobile, provisional and improvisatory nature of the colonial projects being studied; and if recent historiographical discussions, particularly those centering around spatial conceptualizations of imperial power, have begun to turn towards to the utility of biographical approaches, it may be partly because these debates have reinscribed those qualities – mobility, provisionality,

---

[61] *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India, and the Malay Archipelago*, ed. by William Foster, ed., Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 16 (Hakluyt Society: London, 1905), pp. xiv-xv; Francis Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 43; John William Kaye, *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1855)

[62] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, *Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography*, 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Anna Winterbottom, 'Self-Fashioning and Auto-Ethnography: Samuel Baron's Description of Tonqueen (1686)', *Journeys*, 14 (2013), 85-105. It might be suggested that the utility of biography in current early modern studies is partly the result of the the historical records' mediation by precisely the culture that found it such a useful tool. Ogborn, for example, acknowledges the difficulties of his biographical approach in *Global Lives* (pp. 10-14), but persists with a blithe insistence that subaltern voices can be recovered; and while he notes that records concerning individuals are likey to be inflected by the attitudes of their writers and the reasons for their being preserved in the first instance (p. 12), he makes no such allowance for the deep texture and structure of the archive itself.

improvisation – at the centre of their understanding of the processes of imperial rule. In the concept of imperial "careering", Alan Lambert and Adrian Lester identify a useful way of reconstructing "life geographies" which "…constituted meaningful connections across the empire in their own right"; Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall similarly note biography's value in "provid[ing] a way of getting at the sense of *trajectory* among the personnel of Empire, and of the transference of colonial experience and practice from one setting to another", emphasizing that biography is particularly useful for recording this transference when it occurs between different parts of colonial "periphery", rather than between metropole and colony.[63] Indeed, biographical narrative becomes indispensible in structural analyses of empire which problematize metropole/periphery distinctions, emphasize the importance of the networks of linkages between colonial "nodes", and conceptualize empires as, in Tony Ballantyne's phrase, "not just structures, but processes as well": being able to plot how individuals pursue a 'career' or 'trajectory' between different locales may be an essential component of understanding the transference of knowledge, the formulation of complex subjectivities, and the development and application across different contexts of the categories by which the empire was ruled.[64] As the case of Clements Markham demonstrates, following individuals through institutions within (and sometimes outside) the metropole is as valuable for understanding the production of imperial knowledge as following them though 'peripheral' locales is for understanding the application of the power it produces; and more useful still, perhaps, in demonstrating how the processes by which that knowledge is produced and exchanged often problematise

[63] Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall, 'Introduction: In the Margins of Anthropology', in *Writing, Travel and Empire*, ed. by Hulme and McDougall, pp. 1-18 (p. 6-7).
[64] Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 39.

centre/periphery distinctions themselves. As I show in Chapter 6, providing an account of Markham's project to pioneer the introduction of the Andean Cinchona plant to India is unthinkable without taking cognizance of a biographical narrative which moves through the Royal Navy, the India Office, and the Royal Geographical Society, and includes personal contact with the Royal Botanical Gardens, the Peruvian government and landed establishment, a personal acquaintance with Peru, and a period spent learning Quechua. Not only the histories of the design and execution of colonial and scientific projects, but those of the conditions under which they are executed – the codification of procedure, the consolidation of disciplinary discourse and identity, and the patterns of mobilisation of network, institution and infrastructure – are determined to an important extent by the lived experience of individuals, the trajectories of their socialization and training, and their movement through and across structures of power.[65]

This also holds true in tracing the histories of archives. Archival decisions are made by individuals: not only do they reflect those individuals' disciplinary sensibilities, ideological commitments and personal idiosyncrasies, but they may also be strategically deployed in their attempts at self-promotion, at remaking institutional realities and at articulating political positions. As I show in Chapter 3, George Birdwood named the 'Old Records' and appointed himself their champion and guardian in an elaborate and sustained performance of homage; this performance reflected, and was designed to promote, a specific historical narrative of early modern empire; that narrative was based upon a personal politics of empire; and that politics was conditioned by a specific individual history of acculturation,

[65] See Jim Endersby, *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 84-111.

experience and the cultivation of allegiances. As I show in Chpater 4, the importance of lived experience and acculturation also holds true for wider institutional realities: the generational conflict between administrative cultures in the IO in the 1860s and 1870s can only be understood with reference to the older generation's exposure to a pedagogical, military and social environment – the comparative philology and language of EIC training establishments such as Haileybury, the culture of military service and Company social life in India before 1857 – that the younger generation did not experience. In cases such as this, individual biography might usefully accede to prosopography – although that necessarily involves its own dangers of collective categorization and suppression of individual subjectivity.[66]

Ultimately, this kind of intervention might point the way to biography's rehabilitation in imperial history; its attempt to reconstruct individual subjectivities and mentalities, and their inner contradictions and evolution over time, more often than not exposes the tenuousness on an individual level of ideological categories and modes of thinking that we are accustomed to view as monolithic when encountered in the mass. If those subjectivities can be reconstructed, however partially and tentatively, and with due regard to the "residue of unintelligibility" which Carlo Ginzburg insists upon acknowledging in pursuing his "dispersed fragment" of a subject, then it might be possible to plot a course between the irrevocably muted biographical subject of Spivak's Rani and the manufactured one of Kaye's gentlemanly fabrications.[67]

With these methodological issues in mind, the following chapters attempt

[66] Baigent, p. 542.
[67] Ginsburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, p. xxvi; Baigent, p. 538.

to trace the trajectory of the early EIC materials from their creation through to their absorption in the archive, their subjection to the practices of reverential historiography, and their enlistment in fantasies of the imperial archive. In Chapter 2, I study the materials themselves in their original context: the trading world of the early seventeenth century. I interrogate them as an exemple of what Richmond Barbour usefully terms a "cultural logistics": an adaptable technology of control in which cultural determinants and practical requirements enjoy an essentially dialectical relationship. In Chapter 3, I link this work to the late nineteenth century: first by following through the history of the archive and its development alongside the growth of imperial governmentality and historiography, and then by outlining briefly the cultural, political and institutional contexts in which the archive began to be constructed. In Chapter 4 I study Birdwood's moment of commencement: the semi-staged discovery of a cache of documents which became the series of charters at the centre of the muniment. In assembling the history of the formation of Series A: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties, I show how Birdwood established the essential features of his reverential archival regime. In Chapter 5, I study the assembly of the Java records and Original Correspondence series, which encompass the letters and factory records of the early Company, and develop my argument that the initial ordering logics of the new IOR, and its claims to privileged recovery, were complicated and in some senses frustrated by the persistenceof pre-existing archival regimes. Finally, in Chapter 6, I examine the career of Clements Markham, his tenure at the IO leading up to 1877, and the relationship between his interest in the early modern texts of the EIC and other agents of exploration and colonialism intersected with his emergent fantasies of a rationalised archive that much resembles those evoked by Richards.

Chapter 2.

"Soe as a perfect discourse may bee sett downe": the documentary culture of the East India Company abroad, 1600-c.1623

The EIC of the early seventeenth century was in possession of a complex, mobile and responsive technology of writing. Founded on paper by Royal Charter on December 31st 1599, the Company continued to constitute itself on and through paper. Its proprietors and employees used written documents as the means of encoding and embodying authority, sanctioning the exercise of violence or restraint, and exercizing the power to demand or to forbid. Documents directed the disbursement of goods and monies, or could stand in their lieu in the form of promissory notes; they were the means of communicating, directing, begging and remonstrating across vast distances; they recorded the navigational information that would help establish future trade networks; they notated personal and corporate experience, often extreme, and encounters with foreign lands and peoples; they were gifts and tokens of exchange and recognition; and they were the technology through which the Company's merchants, factors, accountants and shareholders ascertained, in ledgers and account books, the progress of their business and the status of their investments. Their movements constituted the networks of knowledge exchange that made the Company's operations possible; and, once collected back into the Company's headquarters, they formed (so it was hoped) an archive of retrievable information which enabled the Company to plan against future contingency.

Recent studies in the broader documentary culture of early modern Europe have tended to emphasize an awareness of manuscripts and printed texts as material,

embodied and situated objects whose agency and meaning at any historical juncture depends very largely upon their context and placing, and the practices of authorship, transmission and reading under which they are created, circulated and consumed. In early modern studies, the material turn has drawn heavily on anthropology, notably the "thick description" of Clifford Geertz, Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things*, and Igor Kopytoff's argument for a cultural biography of objects; allied with the new historicism's tendency towards microhistories of incident and encounter, scholars such as Lisa Jardine, Anthony Grafton, Robert Darnton and Lynne Magnusson have worked towards new theorizations of how documents and texts move through societies and create social meanings.[1] Drawing on Robert Kuhn, Bruno Latour and Bernard Cohn, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer have demonstrated how the making of knowledge is ineluctably bound up with the modes of its recording and transmission, how the birth of experimental science was inseparable from the political cultures in which it was made and their modes of circulation, network-formation and exchange.[2]

---

[1] Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63; James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30; Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in *The Social life of Things*, ed. by Appadurai, pp. 64-94; Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue: Dramatic Language and Elizabethan Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Magnusson, 'Letters', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1500-1610*, ed. by Caroline Bicks and Jennifer Summit (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) pp. 130-151; Bill Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Stewart, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', *Representations*, 50 (1995), 76-100; Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*, published in conjunction with the exhibition *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* presented at The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, from November 18 2004, through April 2 2005 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

[2] Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

The application of such scholarly perspectives to the documentary culture of early modern capitalism is a fairly recent development. John Law's important essay on the *Carreira da Índia* undertakes an explicitly Latourian reading of the documentary procedures of the Portuguese merchant fleet during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and argues that they constituted in themselves one of the essential technologies by which Europeans were able to effect long-distance trade: a technology whose function is to "make it possible for envoys to move in safety from the centre to the periphery, exercise force upon their surroundings, retain their shape, and return unscathed once more to the centre."[3] In *Indian Ink*, Miles Ogborn makes the most thorough attempt to date to survey the documentary culture of the EIC in its totality. Ogborn is especially astute in defining the instrumentality of texts and their movements in shaping power relations, drawing out how relationships defined and constituted through the written world interact with other technologies of information, navigation, capital and violence to create global systems of domination. Applying a similarly instrumentalist approach to rhetoric and the pragmatics of epistolary exchange, Lynne Magnusson analyzes the command language of the Commissions as an instance of Bakhtinian "prosaic creativity" in the textual projection of will over long distances and in the face of unforeseen contingencies; and Alison Games traces how the activation of networks of correspondence not only enabled early modern English merchants to flourish in business, but was also instrumental in defining their structures of cultural identity and solidarity.[4] Richmond Barbour advocates that historians approach EIC documentary

[3] John Law, 'On the Methods of Long-distance Control: Vessels, Navigation and the Portuguese Route to India', in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. by John Law, Sociological Review Monograph, 32 (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 234-263 (p. 17).

[4] Lynne Magnusson, 'East India Company Commissioning Letters, 1600-1614'; Games, *The Web of*

practice as a "cultural logistics", recognizing that "materials and discursive practices hold dialectical, and historically productive, relations, and that "[a]ttention to logistics foregrounds the task-specific and site-specific energies of cultural production."[5]

To date, Barbour's work engages most fully with the commissions and journals which are so significant to this study. He argues convincingly for the materials as powerful expressions of individual and corporate subjectivity, and as potential correctives to over-simplified narratives of colonial encounter which read the processes of encounter and pre-colonial trade purely as brute assertions of monolithic hegemony.[6] The emphasis on a dialectical relation between the material and the discursive is useful in avoiding the divisions between network and individual document, between form and content, and between different types of content, that are liable to complicate attempts to comprehend any documentary culture as an instrumental whole. Quantitative accounts risk effacing the details of materiality, context, and pragmatics: in interrogating a documentary network in search of evidence of Latourian mobility, one tends to alienate content from form, imposing a misleading dichotomy between pure information and the fetters of form and materiality which enable and constrain it. While Law's essay, for example, is a brilliantly rigorous theorization of how a documentary logistics might effect power, it allows no sense of texture or particularity, focusing instead on what the logistics as a whole is trying to achieve rather than its specific and situated instances and effects. Conversely, an exhaustive account of a single document

Empire, pp. 81-115.

[5] Barbour, *Before Orientalism,* p. 7. See also Barbour, '"There Is Our Commission"', p. 194.

[6] Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, pp. 1-12, pp. 146-193; Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals*, pp. 3-4; Barbour, 'The East India Company Journal of Anthony Marlowe, 1607-1608', p. 257.

risks effacing that document's situatedness within a wider network and culture, and its value as an example of an adaptable literary technology.

The concept of a "cultural logistics" indicates, at least, an investment in viewing the documents both as components of a technology of power and domination and as culturally contingent textual artefacts operating often in registers that we might think of as literary, subjective or social. It also draws attention to the ways in which logistics - where "intentionality meets materiality" - and cultural formations determine each other. [7] The EIC's early archival material draws upon and adapts the literary inheritance of previous mercantile and colonial activity, and of the European humanist tradition, to offer rich evidence of the construction and articulation of individual, corporate, class and confessional identities. These identities are articulated by the specific forms of writing through which and in which the Company did its business; and in effecting praxis, and becoming the means by which the movement of people, goods and capital changed power relations on a global scale, the power of those forms should not be underestimated.[8] Engaging closely and not always uncritically with Barbour, therefore, this chapter adopts the concept of a "cultural logistics" to give an account of the documentary culture and practices of the early EIC.

It is that confluence and reciprocity of culture and technique that is most important to this study, since, as I will argue, much of the interest in how the makers of the IOR approached their material lies in the strategies of assimilating (or failing to

[7] Barbour, '"There Is Our Commission"', p. 194.
[8] See especially Ceri Sullivan, *The Rhetoric of Credit: Merchants in Early Modern Writing* (Madison, WI: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002); Stern, *The Company-State*, pp. 3-16; and Stern, 'Corporate Virtue: the Languages of Empire in Early Modern British Asia', *Renaissance Studies*, 26 (2012) 510-520.

assimilate) the culture(s) articulated by that material into their own historiographical narratives. This chapter attempts to give an account of the EIC's cultural logistics and their contexts which is, as far as possible, both systemic and textural. The sheer variety and volume of material available makes any claim to a representative sample impossible: besides, the records of the Company's first two decades are characterised not so much by the smooth running of an informational machine but by energetic and capacious *ad hoc* improvisation, rendering typologies of documentation fluid: few journals, consultations or letters are quite like each other, even when they share a relatively formalised set of practices. I begin with a discussion of the contexts of the early EIC, in terms of both the Company's global operations during its first two decades, and the culture by which it was produced, and which it helped redefine and empower.

i: The world of the EIC in the early seventeenth century

The early EIC was formulated according to much the same principles, and with many of the same determinants, as the joint-stock trading companies which had been operating in the City of London since the foundation of the Company of Merchant Adventurers (later the Muscovy Company) in 1553.[9] In London, its subscription rolls captured much of the merchant community which had come to prominence through the Levant Company and Mediterranean trade in luxuries. The elite of this community was tightly bound together by business and familial links, Protestant, cosmopolitan and often polyglot, and in possession of immense pools of capital: its relationship with the

[9] Chaudhury, pp. 10-13.

Crown and State, and to an extent its religious and ideological tenor, were by the end of the century's first decade becoming increasingly determinant factors in the country's politics.[10] Previous English attempts to infiltrate the global spice trade had focused on finding a route to the Indies which would circumventing the Portuguese *Carreira da Índia.*[11] James Lancaster's expedition of 1591, although commercially unsuccessful (in the sense that neither ships nor crews returned, only Lancaster himself, overland, via a circuitous route through the West Indies),[12] had demonstrated that the Cape Route was physically possible, and the news of the lucrative 1599 Dutch voyage to the East Indies (which endangered, especially, the trade of the Levant Company through Aleppo), argued for swift intervention: several historians of the mercantile establishment, most emphatically Kirti N. Chaudhury, characterise the early EIC as essentially an offshoot of the Levant Company, involving many of its major shareholders and directors, which aimed at outflanking or pre-empting the Dutch capture of the Cape route.[13] There were also the perennial objectives of the London merchant community: to find new and extra-European markets for English broadcloth and redress the country's trade imbalance, and to steal a march on other European mercantile centres.[14] Another major

---

[10] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 51-91; Games, *Web of Empire*, pp. 81-115; Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

[11] The classic study of these multiple attempts, albeit seriously implicated in the reverential historiography this thesis studies, and making extensive use of IOR and other EIC material, is William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: A. & C. Black, 1933).

[12] Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Longman, 1993) p. 14; see also *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster.*

[13] Robert Brenner, 'The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion, 1550-1650', in *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450-1800*, ed. by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *An Expanding World*, gen. ed. A.J.R. Russell-Wood, 8 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 279-302 (pp. 284-285); Chaudhury, pp. 10-14; Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, p. 127; Lawson, pp. 1-5.

[14] Lawson, pp. 10-13. For a detailed narrative of the economic determinants of foreign trade and the formation of a politically and civically powerful mercantile elite between 1550 and the 1620s, see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 3-50, pp. 51-91.

draw of the Indian Ocean was the opportunity to break into its pre-existing trade routes. Persian, Arab, Gujurati, Javan, and Chinese mercantile fleets and networks had by the sixteenth century established a complex trading sphere that covered most points continuously between Aden and Japan, and it was through this network of linkages that Chinese and South-East Asian trade goods reached the Middle East - from where, through Syrian Tripoli and Beirut, and then Venice and Genoa, spices, silks and other luxury consumer goods would find their way into Northern European markets.[15] Throughout the sixteenth century the Portuguese enjoyed some success in penetrating this trade, and it was to be essential to the success of all European trading bodies who wished to establish themselves east of the Cape.[16] As the EIC was to find, Europe produced no trade goods that were vendible in the East (at least until the industrial revolution), and had to rely for exchange upon the export of precious metals - of which, since the Spanish conquests in the Americas, Europe had a relative surplus.[17] There were also, of course, the cultural and ideological energies that produced (and were produced by) the age of exploration, the circumnavigations of Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, the Armada and the privateer trade, and the publication and circulation of narratives of travel and colonisation narratives through Richard Hakluyt, Richard Eden, and others.[18]

---

[15] Om Prakash, Introduction, in *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia*, ed. by Om Prakash, *An Expanding World*, gen. ed. A.J.R. Russell-Wood, 10 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. xv-xix.

[16] George B. Souza, 'Portuguese Country Traders in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, *c.*1600' in *European Commercial Expansion*, ed. by Prakash, pp. 69-80.

[17] Prakash, Introduction, in *European Commercial Expansion*, ed. by Prakash, p. xviii.

[18] Lawson, pp. 6-13; Chaudhury, pp. 1-22; *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by D. B. Quinn, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 144 – 145 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974). It was not accidental that Hakluyt's first edition of *Principall Navigations* (1589) contained 'A declaration of the Indies...And also of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to bee dicouered, which...Robert Thorne...exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hande', plus the same author's schematised world map, in *Divers Voyages touching the*

The first thirteen years of the Company's existence saw twelve voyages, all of which brought returns on investments: during these years the Company engaged, through a strenuous process of trial and error, in improvising a trading network which provided the basis for a lasting concern. Although constituted as a joint-stock company, the first voyages were separately capitalized; the stocks would finally be amalgamated in 1613, providing a more stable constitutional and capital basis for operations, and eliminating the occasional rivalry between voyages.[19]

The trading model that the Company thus improvised was complex, fragile and changeable. Officers negotiated patiently with local authorities for trading rights and privileges, favourable duties, or the right to construct factories. These negotiations were often long, difficult, alienating and inconclusive; even when successful, relationships had to be maintained, and could turn sour without warning. The difficulties encountered by the Sixth Voyage at Mocha in 1610 offer a poignant example. The voyage's admiral, Henry Middleton, was allowed to set up a factory in the port, only to be violently attacked, held in custody, and force-marched to the regional governor at Sana'a. Middleton attempted a retributive blockade of the port itself and of the Bab El-Mandeb straits at the entrance to the Red Sea, with inconclusive results. This occasioned a clash with William Keeling of the fifth voyage, who had hoped to trade in the Red Sea, and who saw the profits of his own voyage threatened by the Middleton's belligerence – an effect of the voyages being separately capitalized.

---

discoverie of America' (1582: coll. B1^{r} – D4^{v}; *Hakluyt Handbook* pp. 338-339). G. V. Scammell and G. D. Ramsay's contributions to *The Hakluyt Handbook* trace Hakluyt and his publications' deep investment and contributory role in late sixteenth century mercantile ideology, politics and advocacy. See G. D. Ramsay, 'Northern Europe', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, pp. 155-160 (p. 159); G. V. Scammell, 'Hakluyt and the Economic Thought of his Time', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, pp. 15-22.

[19] Chaudhury, pp. 23-28; Lawson, pp. 21-23; Ogborn 'Writing Travels', p. 159.

Here as elsewhere, however, the dispute was not simply between accounts, or indeed between personalities, but over long-term policy goals as well. The incident wasted several months, cost the lives of several men, and proved the dangers of diplomatic mishap, complacency, or a simple misreading of a host's intentions.[20]

The Company also had to deal with its trading rivals. Chinese, Gujarati and Arab merchants were not slow to realise that their trade routes were being infiltrated and in some cases usurped, and did not take kindly to the occasional forced exchange of goods after the seizure of a vessel at sea.[21] In some contexts local traders, customs officials, tax farmers and credit agents were glad of the stimulus that competing European trading concerns introduced to the market.[22] Relations with other European actors were volatile in the extreme, alternating between uneasy solidarity and effective, albeit rarely formal, states of war. The absence of a formal declaration of war - by a nation state on the other side of the globe - can be assumed to be largely irrelevant to any of the participants in the savage two-day sea battle between EIC and Portuguese fleets in 1612; likewise to John Jourdain, shot by a Dutch sharpshooter in 1619; or to Nathaniel Courthorpe, occupying Pulau Run (often single-handedly) against the VOC from 1616 to 1620; or, indeed, to Gabriel Towerson, the other nine men of the staff of the English factory, or the ten Japanese mercenaries and one Portuguese overseer tortured and executed at Amboina in 1623. However, the same period saw often

---

[20] *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* [1602-1617], ed. by F. C. Danvers and William Foster, 6 vols., (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1896-1902), I, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, pp. 45-68, pp. 81-131. The original letters are preserved in IOR E/3/1, fols 29^{r} – 51^{v}, fols 60^{r} – 114^{v}.

[21] See, for instance, Middleton and his lieutenant Laurence Femmell's expressions of frustration with colleagues "for meddling [?with] Guzerats" while Middleton's party was still under guard in Mocha. (*Letters Received*, I, pp. 49-50.)

[22] Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 10.

simultaneous comfort, aid, and collaboration between nationalities and companies, and a plentiful circulation of individuals whose association with their countries' trading concerns was sketchy or non-existent. Pitched battles against the Portuguese at Diu (1612) and Hormuz (1622) coincided with the extensive employment of Portuguese pilots, who still held an effective monopoly on the most reliable navigational knowledge; and, at least until the consolidation of Jan Peterszoon van Coen's aggressive policies from the mid-1610s onwards, the antagonism between the EIC and VOC was tempered by relations that, depending on context, could often be convivial.[23] Potential rivals or enemies were not only natioanl: the company also had to deal with English interlopers such as Sir Henry Michelborne, individuals whose hybrid identities gave them valuable linguistic and diplomatic skills but made their loyalty suspect, and the occasional European *renegado* or Jesuit.[24] There were also, of course, the omnipresent dangers of marine navigation and international travel in the early modern era: disease, violence, storms, shipwreck, accidents, drunkenness and madness made for an appalling mortality rate amongst officers and crews.

---

[23] Chaudhury, pp. 60-61; Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp. 31-78.

[24] Chaudhury, p. 40; *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies, as Recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599–1603*, ed. by Henry Stevens (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886), p. 28. Systematic mistrust of Jesuits crops up quite frequently in early EIC documents: they are blamed for diplomatic problems at Agra and in Japan, and when Sir Henry Middleton's flagship the *Trades Increase* is burned at Bantam in 1615, the involvement of a local Jesuit is alluded to. In this case, there is some confusion about whether the culprit is a Jesuit or a *renegado*, and indeed there seems to be a kind of slippage, in EIC accounts, between the two apparently very different identities. This incident, and the uncertainty as to the culprit's identity, is recorded vividly in John Jourdain's letter to the Company, reproduced in Appendix A. (IOR E/3/2, fol. 302^{v}.) Anna Winterbottom has written convincingly of the involvement of *passeurs culturels* in the Company's affairs of the later seventeenth century, and the conclusions she draws about their liminal and problematic status in the eyes of the English merchants - mistrusted for the same cultural mobility that made them valuable assets in effecting difficult communications and enabling cultural, scientific and linguistic exchange - cast some light on the suspicion with which such intercultural actors were viewed by the people for whom they were *not* working. (Anna Winterbottom, 'Self-Fashioning and Auto-Ethnography: Samuel Baron's *Description of Tonqueen* (1686)', *Journeys*, 14 (2013), 85-105).

By the end of the first decade, the Company had established a broadly triangular trade. Bullion and trade goods (English woollens, lead, tin and iron, but also consumer and industrial goods from elsewhere in Europe) were shipped out from London, and traded in India for calicoes and other Indian fabrics; the Indian trade goods were shipped to trading centres in the Indonesian archipelago, and exchanged for spices, which were shipped back to London.[25] The Company also traded aloes, spices and other natural products through Mocha, Gombroon (Bandar Abbas), Basra and Socotra; factories were established in Japan, where the Company procured silks and silver in exchange for gold and trade goods; a tentative trade was established with China, dealing principally in silks, and often involving joint ventures or outsourcing to the pre-existing carrier trade between China, Siam and Indonesian merchant centres; expeditions to the eastern archipelago, the Moluccas, and the clove islands of Ternate and Tidore, produced varying results, and competition with the VOC was almost constant.[26]

This was the context to which the Company's documentary culture responded, and which it created, sustained, and modified. The remainder of this chapter studies some of the features of this system of cultural logistics and their precedents, methods and effects.

[25] David K. Bassett, 'The Trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623-1684', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (n.s.), 92 (1960), 32-47; Chaudhury, pp. 19-22; Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp. 38-43.

[26] Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp. 31-49; Stern, *The Company-State*, pp. 42-60.

ii: Charters and Commissions

At the risk of reproducing the originary obsessions of the Victorian archivists, the charters and commissions that appear in IOR Series A can be thought of in multiple senses as foundational documents of the Company's authority and agency. The first charter was put under royal seal on the evening of December 31st, 1599, incorporating the Company as "one body Corporate and politick in deed and name".[27] This charter, like the others that would follow, is a legal testament, a material and textual embodiment of authority, a munimentary document in the purest sense: it is ripe for being fetishized, framed and reverently preserved. Philip Stern's recent work on the EIC's corporate structure locates the specific powers granted by the charters as the culmination of a complex, semi-ritualised and performative process of negotiation, and notes how that process in turn helped determine the cultural and ideological formations of the community who subscribed and the rhetorics they developed to present themselves in the public sphere.[28] The charters are difficult to conceive of as an integrated part of the documentary networks they instantiate: they are liable to seem inert and unreactive documents, neutral repositories of power. Being inalienable, they are also non-combinable, and their relation to the EIC's cultural logistics of network, exchange and dialogically constructed truth can seem somewhat monologic: they underwrite the authority to gather, combine and mobilize information, but yield little in themselves, and for all their complex and highly ritualised visual and material rhetorics, they are functionally static. Stern's close analysis of the politics of corporate

[27] Although the original charter does not survive, a copy exists in Series A: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties (IOR A/1/2).
[28] Stern, *The Company-State*, pp. 11-12, p. 41; see also Stern, 'Corporate Virtue'.

sovereignty is useful, therefore, in emphasising the instrumentality of charters in inscribing new constellations of power, in which "hyphenated, hybrid, overlapping, and composite forms of sovereignty" gave rise to companies that were "complex legal personalities, both subject and resistant to other forms of political power".[29] If the charters lack immediate combinability, their power as artefacts is impressive across different epistemological regimes: as George Birdwood would demonstrate when he built his muniment, they remained potent signs of power and sites of ideological assertion and contestation however dramatically their contexts and meanings changed.[30]

If the incorporating charters define and locate sovereign authority, officers' and merchants' commissions carry that authority into the arena of praxis, delegating it progressively further down the chain of command. There are two types of commissioning letter for chief merchants, factors, admirals and captains: commissions under the royal seal, and those underwritten by the Company.

The royal commissions balance ritualistic and legal rhetoric with serious, specific and directed attempts to control circumstances and exert influence over contingent events. They physically and textually embody the voice and authority of the monarch, and as such they had to travel wherever the monarch's authority might need to be dispensed. In the case of the Royal Commission of Sir Henry Middleton for the Sixth Voyage in 1610, two copies, both under seal, survive in the Parchment Records.[31] They are drawn up with all the elaborate material rhetorics of any other official

[29] Stern, *The Company-State*, p. 3, p. 7.
[30] Birdwood, *Guide to the Old Records* (1891), pp. viii-ix.
[31] IOR A/1/6; IOR A/1/7.

document under the royal seal: large to the point of unwieldiness, gorgeously made in black letter script on parchment, and pointedly magnificent. It is not known whether either of the two extant copies ever left London (most likely at least one of them is for the Home Establishment) but the voyage would have carried at least two copies on board ship: one for Middleton, and one for his lieutenant-general Nicholas Downton, to be used in the event of their ships becoming separated, or his own authority being neutralised by death, incapacity or captivity. Moreover, the Commission held genuine currency as a physical embodiment of authority: Ogborn remarks at length upon a suggestive incident from the Eighth Voyage, in which the master of the *Hector*, involved in a dispute with his Captain, John Saris, not only strikes him but, during the attack, strikes his commission out of his hand 'against the missenmaste'.[32] (However, no account of the incident makes it clear *which* commission Saris was holding - that from the King, or that from the Company.)

The Commission's first purpose is to grant - which nothing else can - the power to act in the State's behalf:

> ...AND in default of such duitie and obedyence to be *per*fourmed towarde*s* y*ou*, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells or dssenc*i*ons that may arise, by the evyll and disorderlye disposic*i*on of any *per*son whatsoever, WE do herbye aucthorize y*ou* our said serv*a*nt Henry Middleton knight during the said voyage, or during so long tyme and y*ou* shall live in the said voyage, to chastice correct and punishe all Offendo*rs* and transgressors in that behalf according to the qualitye of their offences, w*th* such punishm*entes* as are com*m*onlye used in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Capitall. AND for Capitall offenc*es* as wilfull murth*er*, w*ch* is hatefull in the sight of god, or mutinye w*ch* is an offence w*ch* may tend to the overthrowe of the said voyage, the same being dulye and justlye proved against any of the *per*son or *per*sons aforesaid. WE do herby give unto y*ou* ... full power and

[32] Ogborn, 'Writing Travels', p. 164-165.

> aucthoritye to use and put in execuc*i*on our lawe, called Lawe Marciall in that behalfe...[33]

This is a careful enough delineation of the bounds of Middleton's legal power. That it was put into practice is not in doubt: amongst the many accounts the journals give of shipboard trials and executions, there is evidence of full trials being held aboard, with twelve sailors being deputed as a jury and the captain general as judge: there are corporal punishments in which defaulters are ducked from the yardarm, nailed to the mainmast through their hands, whipped at the capstan or tied to it with weights around their necks. There are several executions in the early journals. Sodomy and bestiality were also treated as capital offences: although the crimes are not explicitly anticipated in the royal commissions, the sentence was certainly in accordance with contemporary English criminal law and with the usual practices of mariners. The essential effect was for the ship, and/or the voyage fleet as a whole, to be constituted as a political space which, in its quasi-monarchical power structure and its monopoly of violence, replicated that of the state itself. [34]

---

[33] *First Letter Book*, pp. 356-359, (p. 357). The original, which is now partly illegible but retains the Royal Seal, is preserved in IOR A/1/6. See Appendix A, p. 317, for editorial notes and transcription policy followed here.

[34] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 46-57. See, for example, the public ducking and whipping of crewmen accused of doing harm to local villagers at Sierra Leone, recorded in Marlowe's journal; the detailed account in Sharpeigh's journal of a shipboard trial for "*th*e haynous synne of soddomy", which culminated in one sailor hung from the yardarm, another whipped at the mainmast, and a third – a boy – pleading nonage, and having his trial deferred until he came of age; and the episode of George King or Kinge, who was accused on board the *Hector* of "carnall coppulation with a bitch", spared the death penalty on the recommendation of a jury of his peers, and whipped at the mainmast. At Sierra Leone, King was caught in possession of stolen goods. Having made an unsuccessful attempt to escape in a small boat, and tortured to extract a confession, he was brought to trial again, and contrived a way to commit suicide by jumping over the side of the ship with his arms bound. (Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals*, pp. 13-15, pp. 46-49, p. 81, pp. 88-89; IOR L/MAR/A/VI fols 23^{r-v}; (fol. 23^{r}, marginalium); *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 10; Journal of Finch and Herne, IOR L/MAR/A/V, fols 9^{v}-10^{r}.)

There are, however, checks and balances to this quasi-monarchical power. Middleton himself is subject to the threat of lethal violence if he fails to act in accordance with the bounds set:

> And because we are not ignoraunt of the Emulac*i*on and envye w*ch* doth accompanye the discoverye of Countryes and trades, and of the quarrells and contenc*i*ons w*ch* do many tymes fall out between the subject*es* of dyvers Princes when they mete the one w*th* the oth*er* in forreigne and farre remote Countryes... and being desirous that o*ur* Subject*es* should forbeare to move or beginne any quarrell or contenc*i*on uppo*n* the Subject*es* of o*ur* Confederates friend*es* or Allies ... WE THEREFORE do herebye straightlye charge and com*m*aund y*ou* .. that neith*er* in yo*ur* voyage outward or homeward, or in any countrye, Island, port of place, wher y*ou* shall abyde or come, during the tyme of you*r* being abroad... wher y*ou* mette w*th* any the Subject*es* of *the* king of Spaine, of any oth*er* o*ur* Confederates, friend*es*, or Allies, or of any other nac*i*on surprize their *per*sons, Shippes, vessells, good*es* or m*er*chandizes, or offer any injurye or discourtesye unto them, as y*ou* will aunswer the contrarye, at yo*ur* utt*er*most *per*ills. Except y*ou* shalbe by them first therunto justlye *pro*voked or driv*en*, eith*er* in the just defence of yo*ur* owne *per*sons, Shippes, vessells, good*es* or m*er*chandizes, by any ther disturbaunce or hindraunce w*hat*soev*er* in yo*ur* quyett course of trade, or for recompence and recov*er*ye of the *per*sons, Shippes, good*es* or m*er*chandizes of any o*ur* Subject*es*, that are already in or neare the East Indyes, or for any oth*er* just cause of yo*ur* defence, in w*ch* cases so excepted ... y*ou* shall not ... be in daunger or subject to the *per*ill and penalties of lawes...[35]

As Barbour remarks, for a document with such claim to potency, this is a notably impotent attempt to circumscribe the behaviour of a subject on behalf of a king frustrated by his inability to contain violence at sea.[36] The language of command here undermines itself by an acknowledgement of the possibility and even the likelihood of violence between Europeans. However, this passage is testament to more than merely frustrated toothlessness. While initial absolute injunction against violence, and the only slightly euphemized threat of punishment, is retained for its rhetorical force, and as a

[35] *First Letter Book*, p. 358.
[36] Barbour, '"There is Our Commission"', p. 200.

warning to Middleton to watch his step, the rest of the paragraph is a list of exceptions to this rule: in effect an itemization of acceptable *casus belli.* Since violence may well happen, the King would like to dictate the terms under which it does so - with the plausible deniability of not having endorsed it, and as far away from Europe as possible. With these conditions, it concludes, Middleton might be able to deploy violence without any danger of "the *per*ill and penalties of lawes".

This concern with managing actual policy, and attempting to circumscribe as far as possible the range of things which can occur, becomes clearer in the final section of the commission's text:

> AND forasmuch as o*ur* said Subject*es* the m*er*chant*es* and other the adventurers of the voyadge, out of provydence and foresight yf any mortalitye eith*er* by sicknes or otherwise (w*ch* God forbyd) should befall unto o*ur* serv*a*nt Henry Myddleton knight, have made choise of o*ur* trustie and loving subjecte Cap*tai*ne Nicholas Dounton, to succeed the said Henry Myddleton knight, in the charge and commaund of principall governor and generall ... And these o*ur* l*ett*res shalbe sufficyent warrant and discharge to the said Cap*ne* Nicholas Dounton, for the doing and executing of all and singuler the *pre*misses as afores*aid*.[37]

Here the language of the commission tries to effect an uneasy reconciliation between the languages of authority and contingency, between the necessity of maintaining the rhetoric of royal command and the all-too-clear inability to plan against the unknown. In Magnusson's formulation, "the script and the situation are at odds": in this context, to "writ[e]... like a Tudor or Stuart monarch" is to "echo...God's command language while entirely lacking His foreknowledge".[38]

---

[37] *First Letter Book*, p. 359.

[38] Magnusson, 'East India Company Commissioning Letters, 1600-1614'. Magnusson is actually writing about the Company's commissioning letters rather than those issued by the Crown, but the phrase is nonetheless apt. Magnusson is astute in diagnosing the Company as "writing like a Tudor or Stuart

The active insertion of religion into formulations of authority is taken further in the Company's own commissioning letters, which replicate much of the intricate rhetorical strategies of the Royal commissions' attempts to assert authority and outflank circumstance. Their spatial and material rhetorics, as far as we can reconstruct them from copies, were closer to those of a businesslike merchant's letter than of a charter or dispensation. If anything, despite their aura of authority and ceremony, these texts are also practical, specific, and essentially *textual*: quite unlike documents under the royal seal, they are made to be copied, replicated, and read repeatedly. That replication also goes beyond the source text: the form of the commission, its language and rhetoric, could be replicated *in situ* by senior merchants wherever it was needed, as a formal set of instructions for behaviour, organisation or the commission of a particular project. Hence, for example, Thomas Best's ordinances for the voyage copied into Rafe Crosse's journal (which is studied below) in his own hand, adapted from Best's own commission and distributed to the senior officers of the voyage.[39]

Middleton's Company commission, which is largely representative of commissions given to voyage generals, is long (approximately seven and a half thousand words) and detailed, consisting of 34 numbered paragraphs.[40] Its subjects range between the practical and the sternly moral, between general directions for behaviour and objectives and complex pre-emptive decision trees regarding actions to

monarch", since the same gap between script and situation occurs in both, and if anything (as I argue here), the Company's commissions were the more likely to be effective in producing action and maintaining authority at a distance.

[39] L/MAR/A/XVI, fols 2^{r}-5^{v}.

[40] IOR B/2, fols 118^{r}-123^{v}; IOR L/MAR/C/4, fols 11^{r}-22^{r}.

be taken at certain ports, in certain markets, or in the event of various imagined circumstances.

The first item, however, is the delegation of authority and the definition of roles within the voyage:

> INPRIMIS whereas wee the Marchaunt*es* abovesaid w*th* o*ur* greate chardge & trouble have p*re*pared two shipps and apynnace ... for a voyadge by God*es* grace in them to be made to the East indies [and] have furnished the same sufficientlie & in plentifull manner w*th* men tackle victualls & all other needfull *pro*visions, fitt for such a voyadge ...Of an espetiall trust & confidence we have of the Integrity, wisdome & resoluc*i*on of o*ur* lovinge freind Si*r* Henry Middleton knight doe appointe & authorize him Generall to goe in the *Trades Increase* & to Comand all o*ur* said Ships and the men in them, haveing procured him sufficient authority from o*ur* Sou*r*eigne Lord the king*es* ma*tie:* for that purpose not doubtinge but that he will soe behave himselfe in his chardge as he may bee both feared & loved, And that he will w*th* all his diligence & endevo*r* prosequute o*ur* designes & labo*r* to bringe this costly voyadge to a happie end.[41]

The council are careful both to refer back to the Royal commission and to forcibly remind Middleton of the value of their own investment. The insistence on their own carefulness in outfitting the voyage is also, perhaps, a way of disclaiming responsibility: Middleton, by adding his signature to the document, would officially acknowledge this, and certify that the Company had indeed fulfilled its own end of the bargain. The stipulation that Middleton comport himself "as he may bee both feared & loued" is clearly a hint at the kind of behaviour expected of him, as well as a proleptic expression of confidence in his ability to do so. The behaviour expected of the voyage's company, both on their own account and in their regulation of the behaviour of lower ranks, is expanded upon more specifically in the following items:

[41] IOR B/2, fol. 118^{r}, *First Letter Book*, pp. 328-329.

> [item 2:]...all w*ch* Comanders Marchaunt*es* ffactor*s* M*rs*: & Mariners we trust will soe carry them selves w*th* due respect one to another & obedience to ev*r*y one of their Superio*rs* as love and kindnes may be Contynued on all sides & all wholie apply their wytt*es* and endevo*rs* for the due *per*formance of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Company.
> 3. Item: And for that religious governm*ent* doth best binde men to *per*forme their duties yt is principally to be cared for that prayers be said ev*r*y morninge & eveninge in ev*ry* Shipp & the whole Company called thereunto w*th* diligent Eyes that none be wantinge soe as all may joyntlie w*th* reverence & humility pray unto Almightie God to blesse and preserve them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyage.
> 4 Item That noe blaspheminge of God, Swearinge, Thefte, Drunkennes, or otherlyke disorders be used but that the same be severelie ponished, and that noe diceinge or other unlawfull games be admitted for that most comonlie the same is the begyninge of quarrellinge and many tymes occasions of murthers a just provocac*i*on of God*es* wrath & vengeance (from w*ch* the Lord deliv*er* us all)...[42]

The use of the language of piety poses questions about corporate religiosity and its uses. Adverting to Louis B. Wright's argument that "[i]t was the pious hope and dream of Sir Thomas Smythe and his colleagues that in every voyage God would go along as a sort of spiritual supercargo",[43] Barbour reads in the commissions the Council's perception of the EIC voyages as "a spiritual opportunity to forge, on a stressed, disease-wracked vessel, a Christian community more loving than London's".[44] He also identifies the prescription to communal daily prayer as a powerful instrument of surveillance and a tool by which to "internalize crew members' submission to authority".[45] Certainly, the stipulation that "the whole Company [be] called thereunto w*th* diligent Eyes that none be wantinge soe as all may joyntlie w*th* reverence &

---

[42] IOR B/2, fol. 118^{v}; *First Letter Book*, pp. 329-330.
[43] Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1953: repr. New York: Octagon, 1973), p. 74.
[44] Barbour, "' There Is Our Commission "', p. 203.
[45] Barbour, "' There Is Our Commission "', p. 204.

humility pray" forcefully imbricates a Foucauldian sense of control through surveillance into the ritual of spiritual observance, in which prayer is also a kind of roll call. The two functions are not necessarily at odds: the Christian community of the ship is envisaged as a space of both fraternal *agape* and stringent coercion, and to "binde" encompasses both senses.

If community and communality are enforced by mean of organised faith, they are also sustained by protocols of mutual witnessing and mutual surveillance, many of them effected through documentary practice. Journals are to be verified by conference. There are strict rules on the disposition of men's goods after they die, involving the preservation of all wills and documents, and the carefully controlled sale of effects. Disbursements of specie, food and clothing are to be entered in account books and double-checked. Every transaction that takes place, inside or outside the ship, must be recorded, signed, checked, and returned in duplicate to the Company for perusal.[46] Items 12 and 29 deal with the Company's embargo on private trading:

> ...that there be noe dealinge by Exch*an*ge betwixt *par*ty and *par*ty neither money for money Comoditee for money, or comodity for Comodity...for preven*ci*on whereof wee order that neither the Pursar or any other doe register witnes or take knowledge of any such Contracte by Exchandge. And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe good*es* aboard in any the Shipps more than their Chest appointed them will containe & the same good*es* to be *par*ticularly entred into the Pursers book*es* upon paine of forfecture to the Company: that w*ch* shall not be soe entred ev*r*y Mariner and other of the said Shipps to sett their hand*es* or mark*es* to the said orders mentioned in this 12 article. And yf any ffact*or* shall happen to die, his good*es* book*es* accompt*es* and other thing*es* are to be ordered... safely reserved & brought home for England, an Inventory first taken thereof & registred in the purcers booke, to be witnessed by 2 or 3 of the Merchaunt*es*.[47]

[46] See items 6, 12, 23 and 24, IOR B/2, fols 118^{v}, 119^{r-v}, 122^{r-v}; *First Letter Book*, pp. 330, 332-333, 341-342.
[47] IOR B/2, fol. 119^{v}; *First Letter Book*, pp. 332-3.

Unable to exercise surveillance over its employees, the Company here has them exercising it over each other: as with the journals' approach to the negotiation of truth, honesty is here guaranteed by mutual witnessing. Nothing is to be allowed to escape: the verification of documents and accounts rests upon their concordance with each other. Again, the Company's command language overreaches its ability to enforce: nothing it does can prevent private trading, nor prevent merchants scanting on the prescribed ceremonies, fudging the books, or (should the opportunity arise) collaborating in falsifying records. But the practices of mutual witnessing are based on an assumption that, even whilst specifically invoking a communal compact, no-one can be entirely sure of anothers' discretion: the glue of trust is mistrust. In forcing merchants to expose their affairs and accounts to each other, the Company forces them into mutual dependence.

The link between personal moral credit and the functioning of the community becomes especially apparent when individuals fall short of the ideal. The case of Richard Cobb at Bantam in 1614 exemplifies this. John Jourdain, the factory President, writes to the Company that Cobb, "*per* drunckennes fightinge & Raylinge" has by general consent been "deprived of the counsaile of m*er*chantes", the most telling charge is that he is thought "not able to conceale the secretts of [the worshipful] Comp˜".[48] Jourdain makes clear two things about Cobb's problems: he has compromised his credit as a merchant, thereby becoming unworthy to participate in the rituals and common life of the community; and, as a cause and consequence of this, he is unfit to be entrusted with information. Sober and considered behaviour - and, by extension, the

[48] IOR E/3/2, fol. 202^{r}. Transcribed in Appendix A, pp. 324-332.

communal rituals that enforce and consolidate it - is not only part of a mercantile ideal, but a very practical guarantee against the leakage of intelligence: sobriety and secrecy are the same thing, and faith is what underwrites them.[49]

Where the language of piety is perhaps most sincere (or perhaps tending the most towards platitude) is in invoking the larger fortunes of the voyage as a whole, matters of life and death, and the chances of coming home alive. Journals are to be produced "soe as a *per*fect discourse may be sett downe to be presented to the Governo*ur* & Company when God shall grante them a safe retourne to be kept for better direction of posterytie";[50] the complex series of successions in case of decease of principal officers is structured around a repeated motif of "yf God shall call you S*r* Henry Middleton (during this voyadge) out of this world w*ch* God defend"[51]. The very real possibility of death was the final contingency against which the Company could not hope to exercise its language of command.

iii: Journals

The "journals" of the early voyages constitute the most continuous and in many respects the most consolidated documentary accounts of the Company's work. Produced according to stringent protocols and obsessively collected, copied, archived and policed by the Company, they were intended to provide a comprehensive account of the progress of each voyage using the fullest possible range of information-gathering techniques and exhaustive processes of underwriting and verification. They are some

[49] For further examples see Games, *Web of Empire*, p. 93.
[50] IOR B/2, fol. 119^{r}; *First Letter Book*, p. 331.
[51] IOR B/2, fol. 123^{r}; *First Letter Book*, p. 345.

of the richest material in the archives, partaking of the rhetorics and techniques of maritime recording, cartography and charting, sailing directions and rutters, travel writing, and the notation of individual and collective experience: as such, they are extremely (and often dangerously) seductive documents, subject throughout their subsequent history to a range of techniques of appropriation, republishing and interpretation which can often cloud any objective view of their original functionality and characteristics as specific, situated documents. Despite the deliberative effort the EIC put into procuring and policing them, they are often fragmentary, contradictory and chaotic, dramatizing the distance between the theorization of accurate and integrated information management and its messy application.

Here, I give a short impression of the salient features of the journals, both as elements of a wider documentary culture and as documents in their own right. Most of the journals studied in the following pages are in some way connected with Clements Markham's 1877 Hakluyt Society edition of *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster,* which is studied in more detail in chapter 6. Where possible I have provided images of the pages at issue. A single page of journal is unlikely to give a clear impression of the document as a whole, but is a convenient framework for approaching its material form, its texture and patterning, the range of voices and rhetorical strategies it employs, the multiple layerings of data-quarrying, paratextual intervention and archival movements it undergoes, and the ways in which it responds to the protocol under which it was created.

Having been largely bypassed by successive waves of post-colonial and new historicist scholarship, the journals have recently begun to come back into scholarly

focus. Much critical attention has focused on the shipboard performances of *Hamlet* and *Richard II* that may have taken place on the third voyage, and the academic mystery surrounding whether they actually occurred.[52] Barbour's commentary on the documents relating to the third voyage is the most sensitive treatment of the journals yet to appear, approaching them as records of complexly performative ventures and honoring the access to human experience, often extreme, which they provide. Barbour's interest in the texts is primarily as a privileged source of sociological and affective reconstruction, allowing the reader to reconstruct "the mariners' crisis management, conflict mediation, discipline, grieving, recuperation, and festivity".[53] This emphasis occasionally leads Barbour to underestimate the journals' instrumentality within the cultural logistics he defines so well in other respects. For example, his remark about Anthony Marlowe's "disciplined commitment to the actual", quoted above, may betray a fundamental misprision which has dogged readings of these documents since the nineteenth century: the idea of a 'journal' as inherently a reflective piece of writing

[52] Whether the performances in fact occurred is still open to question: Markham, a believer, concedes that the relevant leaves have been "stolen" from the journals, and that the only evidence he has is the notes made by Thomas Rundall during his compilation of *Narratives of Voyages Towards the North-West, in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India*. As Bernice W. Kliman notes, the mere possibility the incident having occurred – a possibility that centres, tantalisingly, around an archival absence – has generated a perhaps disproportionate amount of scholarly debate. Patricia Akhimie is surely right when she argues that "[l]iterary critics, historians, and cultural theorists alike have summoned up this ghost that, for all its suggestive potency, implies more about the summoner than about anything else." (Patricia Akhimie, 'Strange Episodes: Race in Stage History', *Shakespearean Bulletin*, 27 (2009), 363-376 (p. 364); Bernice W. Kliman, 'At Sea about Hamlet at Sea: A Detective Story', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 62 (2011), 180-204; *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. x; see also Barbour, 'Journal of Anthony Marlowe', pp. 255-257; *The Third Voyage* Journals, pp. 25-27; P. E. H. Hair, 'Hamlet in an Afro-Portuguese Setting: New Perspectives on Sierra Leone in 1607', in P. E. H. Hair, *Africa Encountered: European Contacts and Evidence, 1450-1700* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 21-42 (first publ. in *History in Africa,* 5 (1978), 21–42); Thomas Rundall, *Narratives of Voyages Towards the North-West, in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India, 1496 to 1631*, Hakluyt Society 1st series, 5 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1849), p. 231; Gary Taylor, '*Hamlet* in Africa 1607', in *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 223-248).

[53] Barbour, 'Journal of Anthony Marlowe', p. 256; Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals*, p. 2.

undertaken by an individual fully conversant with the idea of performing an act of self-narration for an invisible or imaginary audience. Again, this is to impose upon early modern texts a hermeneutics of self-conscious writing that is a development of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[54] In its crudest form, this inspires assertions such as William Foster's, in his edition of John Jourdain's journal: "[Jourdain] kept a careful diary, commenced, no doubt, in obedience to the instructions given by the East India Company to all their servants, and afterwards continued for his own satisfaction and as a repository of information that he might find useful on some future occasion".[55] This neglects the sociability and multivalent combinability of the journals, their situatedness within a dense network of documentation, signification and arbitration, and their ultimate purpose as corporate documents. The audience for whom they were composed was far from imaginary: Merchants and mariners were expected to submit their journals to the Company on return to London, and payment might be withheld until they did. The only thing Barbour misses, in his analysis of these documents as part of ventures to whose rhetorical complexity he is otherwise extremely sensitive, is the extent to which they are often carefully calibrated performances, on the quality and content of which a large financial incentive might depend.

The problem of affective access invokes debates surrounding the status of the subject in the early modern era and its reformulations under the pressures of social and economic change. In his nuanced investigations of day-books and household almanacs, Adam Smyth has demonstrated how apparently fragmentary or fugitive forms of

[54] See, for example, the essays collected in *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth Century France*, ed. by Jo Burr Margadant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
[55] *Journal of John Jourdain,* p. ix.

recording, using annotation, paratextual intervention and collaboration, enabled the articulation of subjective selves and personal and historical narratives within the framework of apparently businesslike and practical documents.[56] Smyth's work provides perhaps the best model so far for understanding how the EIC materials, both journals and to an extent letters and factory consultations, engage or fail to engage in this articulation. Although very different types of document, the almanacs studied by Smyth and the EIC materials (especially the journals) are often documents defined by their use-value, organised by spatial and textual rhetorics that efface the writing subject, and made to be ephemeral, their originals lost to their writers and the data within transferred out to other texts as necessary.[57] Yet, as with almanacs, the journals inevitably disclose a writing subject who records events that cannot fail to be personal, however useful they may be in other respects: in Smyth's words, "[t]his writing of individuality through the adoption of shared, public templates evokes the dual meaning of identity as both sameness and uniqueness".[58] There is often a sense that, at the same time as being a record of work done, a navigational record, an accounting of trade, a chorographic treatise or a daybook of stray information, a journal notates subjective experience in ways which cannot be entirely captured by its intended audience or use-value. The vast majority of such articulations, however, remain subject to the documents' formal use as records of work done for an employer, designed to be directed to that employer; and, however oppositional to the journals' apparent purpose any irruption of affect or critique may seem, one should not lose sight of the ways in which

[56] Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs, Annotators and Life-Writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38 (2008), 200-244.
[57] Smyth, p. 210.
[58] Smyth, p. 239.

that irruption may be a calculated textual effect, directed consciously at specific readers, and meant to make something happen. As Ogborn emphasizes, the journals are practical instruments, and can be read as the narrative backbone or index of the more immediate and situationally isolated documents - wills, remittances, contracts, accounts, sketches and charts of coastlines, letters and records of consultations - with which they would return to London; and, moreover, all of these writing technologies crop up, albeit in variously fragmentary forms, in the journals themselves).[59]

Notwithstanding wide variations in their final form, journals were composed according to a rigidly codified set of intructions. Item 8 of Middleton's commission stipulates:

> That continuall & true Iournalls be kept of eury dayes Nauigacon duringe the whole voyadge, w*th* a true relacon of eury materiall thinge that passeth and this not onlie to be done by the Leiuetenant but alsoe by the marchaut*es* pursar pilott*es* M*r* M*rs* mate & that some of the principalls in each shipp may conferr their obseruacons together at convenient tymes once or twyce eury weeke at the least to the end yf any haue forgotten what an other hath obserued the same may be added, soe as a *per*fect discourse may bee sett downe to bee *pre*sented to the Gouenor and Company when God shall grante them a safe retourne to be kept for better direcon of posterytie.[60]

All commissions included some variant of this command, and the wording rarely strays from this formula: unlike some other requirements (see above), it changes little over the first decade and a half of the EIC's existence. More than, say, factory consultations, maritime journals were a pre-existing literary technology that left little room for

[59] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 39-40.

[60] IOR B/2, fol. 119^{r}; *First Letter Book*, p. 331. Copies exist in L/MAR/C/4, Marine Miscellaneous, fols 15^{r} – 22^{r}, abstracted in *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 137-144. The copy in Marine Records Miscellaneous substitutes "perfect Discovery" for "perfect discourse": a temptingly suggestive slippage, but not one that occurs anywhere else to my knowledge.

elaboration: the practice of collaborative and structured recording and knowledge-gathering on voyages of trade and discovery had a long genealogy. By the end of the fifteenth century, the *relazioni* of Venetian ambassadors applied a codified taxonomy of knowledge to their geographical, economic and political descriptions of foreign countries.[61] Chorography, as a practice of comprehensive local geographical description (as opposed to cosmography), was increasingly underwritten throughout the sixteenth century by humanist scholars' development of theories of travel and epistemologies of observation: scholars including Blotius, Turler, Pyrckmair and Zwinger argued that the improving knowledge communicated to the individual by travel could be anatomized, archived, and then mobilized in the project of improving the gentlemanly self and the scholarly community.[62] Simultaneously, voyages of discovery with the prospect of conquest or trade placed a new importance on methodical and quantitative intelligence. The 'Ordinances' drawn up by Sebastian Cabot for the first voyage of the Company of Merchant Adventurers in 1553 foreshadow many of the EIC commissions' concerns of managing strategy and behaviour at a distance, defining the political space of the ship and the disposition of authority and precedence within the voyage, and imposing protocols of collaboration and recording designed to outflank private trade and other forms of malfeasance; and their directions on navigational and chorographic observation strikingly anticipate those of the EIC's commission:

---

[61] Donald E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 110-148.

[62] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: the Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), pp. 47-94. Stagl also notes that the increasing organisation of knowledge went hand-in-hand with its centralisation in organised archives, its use in surveys and other instrumentalities of power, and its mobilisation as propaganda in edited compendia, collections of maps and voyages, etc. (pp. 95-153).

> ...the points and observations of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of every ship to be put in writing, the captaine generall assembling the masters together once every weeke (if the winde and weather shal serve) to conferre all the observations, and notes of said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and upon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common leger, to remain of record for the company.[63]

David Palmer notes that Cabot's program crystallizes developments in the writing of chorography which are specifically adapted to exploratory and mercantile uses: the creation of a record *ab nihilo* and by empirical observation, the emphasis on collectivity and collaboration, and the creation of a centralized record, ratified by mutual verification and witnessing, that nonetheless retains the capacity to record dissent and alternative perspectives.[64] Sophisticated techniques of processing the information produced were also well developed. Hakluyt's project of collecting voyages had already involved the use - sometimes more or less verbatim, more often edited or abstracted - of just such documents; and he envisaged that his publications be used in the field as a guide to travel and action, beyond their more immediate mobilization as colonialist propaganda or commodification as travellers' tales.[65]

The Company's specific modes of dealing with the material that came back to Leadenhall Street are largely impossible to reconstruct, but convincing evidence

---

[63] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares*, 8 vols (London: J.M. Dent, 1907), I, pp. 232-243 (p. 233).

[64] Daryl W. Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 24. See also William H. Sherman, 'Distant Relations: Letters from America, 1492-1677', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66 (2003), 225-245.

[65] *The Hakluyt Handbook*, pp. 8-22; see also Ann Diamond, 'Reducing These Loose Papers into This Order: A Bibliographical Sociology of the *Principall Navigations*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2012).

survives of the EIC's strenuous (and not always successful) attempts to police both access to the documents and their travels as material objects once returned to London. In the case of journals, far more so than in that of letters, the issue of informational security was particularly vexed. On the one hand, much trade and navigational material was to be jealously guarded, and the Company was hardly keen on publicizing the less-than-perfect behavior of masters and crews, the failures of factors to maintain profitable trade, or (beyond a certain point) the reality of life aboard a voyage.[66] On the other hand, the journals were the readiest source for propagandizing the Company's aims and, by extension, the interests of the mercantile faction in English politics.[67] Hakluyt and Purchas' appointments testified to the Directors' canny appreciation of how far the success of the Company would depend upon mobilizing technologies of print and engaging in the strategic release of information, but their behaviour often oscillated between open-handedness and paranoid secrecy. Hence Samuel Purchas was welcomed into Hakluyt's old post with mutual congratulations, but soon complained of the interference he received in viewing and taking notes from the Company's archives: in visiting the records rooms at Leadenhall Street, he found himself subjected to a level of supervision that impeded his work.[68] Rather cruelly, Purchas' posthumous reputation would be blighted (and remains so) by the charge that at the time of his death he was

[66] See, for example, the episode from the Journal of Rafe Crosse in which, the *Hosiander* newly arrived in Aceh, the entry for April 17 reads: "This daie great disorderes abord our shipp, both with our own men and the Dragon's men: first, by drinking drunk, and then by fighting with fistes, in the sight of the Guzurat junkes, to all our great shames and disgrace to our country and nation." (IOR L/MAR/A/XVI fol. 19^{r}; *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 249). The incident is not reproduced in Purchas. See also the shipboard trial for sodomy that occurred aboard the *Ascension* during the third voyage (mentioned above in fn 34); not only does this fail to appear in Purchas, but of the several Hakluyt Society volumes which deal with journals in which the incident in noted at length, none so much as allude to it.

[67] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 104-156.

[68] Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, p. 158.

in possession of a large body of documents which were never returned to the EIC.[69]

The most obvious sign of intervention in London is that many journals are copies rather than originals. Copies may have been made at several stages and in several different ways - the journals, or notes from which they were assembled or with which they were associated, must have been the means of communicating intelligence of various kinds to the staff of factories and other ships - but material traces of these exchanges are not readily locatable: journals, letters and consultations note meetings of officers and factors, and the exchange of intelligence, but if paper passed from hand to hand it does not survive. Nor can we reconstruct the processes of assemblage or sharing of information from one document to another, except (tentatively, and fleetingly) where identifiable hands alternate within the same document: in the case of manuscript pages featuring sketches or charts of coastlines, for example, it is impossible to know how many drafts or how much scrap paper (or other evanescent writing technologies, such as wax tablets) went into their production, or whether they are products of the putative author's own hand, knowledge or documentary store, or copied from someone else's.

As with the archive itself, perhaps the best strategy for undertaking a formal study of the journals as an informational technology is to begin with the finished product and work backwards towards whatever might remain of the raw materials. If the journals were intended to produce information that was collaborative, fungible,

---

[69] On this controversy and its afterlives, see L. E. Pennington's exhaustive study of Purchas' reputation in *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626*, ed. by L.E. Pennington, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), I, pp. 3-120 (pp. 38-41); William Foster, 'Samuel Purchas' in *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society*, ed. by Edward Lynam (London: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Hakluyt Society, 1946), pp. 49-61; Derek Massarella, '"The Loudest Lies": Knowledge of Japan in Seventeenth Century England', *Itinerario*, 11 (1987), 52-71 (pp. 54-56).

multivalent and recombinable, then the "journal" of the third voyage preserved in IOR L/MAR/I/VI[70] might be viewed as something like a finished product of the process of recombination. An extremely cursory digest, covering the timespan between March 12th, 1607 (new style) to September 1609 in only four folio leaves, it is headed "The principall notes of *th*e third voyage | to *th*e Easte Indies by William Keelinge | Governo*r* begunne *th*e 12th of March | Anno Dominio 1607", and a later endorsement sheet is labelled "short observations of *th*e 3*rd* viage 1607 | in *th*e Dragon"; it is evenly and professionally scribed, and features only minimal marginalia in the same hand and ink as the main text.[71] It is essentially a policy document for the use of the Court and investors; there is no navigational information, only a skeleton account of the dates on which the voyages' ships arrived and departed various ports, notes of the retail price of "Oliphante's tooth" and pepper, and an account of some fraught negotiations with the VOC. There is no first person pronoun in the text, either singular or plural; the voice is entirely corporate, in the sense that individual employees have been excised, and if there is any sense of an individual's lived experience it has been thoroughly suppressed. It also demonstrates, in a somewhat minimalist and gestural way, the ideal layout of a journal: a lightly tabulated text of discrete entries, clearly dated and separated by a horizontal line; a pattern that, though often subjected to interruptions or innovatory interpositions of other graphic forms, remains the means by which almost all journals record and convey progress over time.

[70] IOR L/MAR/A/VI, unbound bundle, 4 folio leaves, unpaginated; abstracted in *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 108-110.
[71] IOR L/MAR/A/VI, fol. 2^{r}; fol.1^{r}.

Many surviving journals are copies of original documents, rather than digests, and present other kinds of problems as to their production. The journal of John Jourdain from the fourth voyage uses the same lightly tabular form, in which daily entries of varying lengths are separated by a ruled line; and is a verbatim copy of Jourdain's original, written in the dry style he uses in his letters, and using the first person singular and plural throughout.[72] The marginalia, too, use the same voice, which is unusual in manuscripts where the marginalia have clearly been added at a later date; moreover, where the manuscript changes hands (as it does twice in two folio leaves at one point), the marginalia follow suit. Probability suggests, therefore, that Jourdain, a notably efficient company employee and a meticulous documenter, made his own marginalia for the convenience of his journals' intended audience. While not an original document, Jourdain's journal can perhaps be thought of as a step closer to the original than Keeling's "principall notes", in that it replicates the raw material of an exemplary journal, exposing in the process how sophisticated that original document is: a complex texture of navigational notation, mercantile and judicial recording, and personal reflection.

The rarity of originals exacerbates the difficulty of identifying the individual subject in these journals, or tracing the processes of their production. The lost original of Jourdain's journal may have itself been written up from a rough copy or notes; the Court Minute on not paying officers until they had handed over their journals may hint that it was not uncommon for journals to be written up at the end of the voyage. In

[72] BL Sloane MS 838. The only copy of any of Jourdain's journals to survive, this manuscript failed to be retained in the IOR, and its presence in the library of Hans Sloane corroborates the Court Minutes' complaints of a certain porosity to the bounds of the archive.

some circumstances, however, we can be certain that journals were composed continuously and *in situ*. John Knight's journal, from his exploratory voyage in search of a North-West Passage, is one such example, in that it ceases mid-sentence at the moment of his disappearance and presumptive death. Knight was employed in the early summer of 1606 on an expedition jointly funded by the East India and Muscovy Companies, to pilot a small ship, the *Hopewell*, beyond Greenland.[73] Bogged down by unfavourable weather and impassable sea-ice on the coast of Labrador, Knight and some other men disappeared while reconnoitring an island. When a search party found itself threatened by unfriendly indigenous people, the remaining crew of the *Hopewell* gave up their commander and comrades for lost and returned to London.

The relative simplicity of Knight's journal (see Appendix A, pp. 322-323) can be attributed largely to the expedition's own straightforwardness, both in its conception and in its failure: a single ship with a single commander and a small crew, dedicated purely to navigational exploration and not to trade. No commission or set of instructions survives, but it can be assumed that Knight and his associates were expected to perform the usual observational practices: the version of the narrative in Purchas interpolates a short retrospective passage narrating the first leg of the voyage, in which Knight relates that, while stormbound in Orkney for two weeks, "[i]n this mean space, I entertained two men of this country, which are both lustie fellowes at sea and land, and are well acquainted with all the harbours of these north parts of Scotland.

[73] IOR L/MAR/A/II. The title given in the MS is 'The Journall of John Knight | After he went from | Orcades or Orkney on the | Northe parte of Scotland | The 12 of May 1606 | To seeke out the passage by | The norwest Betwene | Gronland and America' (fol. 1^{r}). Knight's journal appears in Purchas, and rather more reliably (but without the section up to departure from Orkney, or the continuation of the journal by Oliver Browne or Brownel after Knight's death) in *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 281-294. See Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of the journal's editions.

In this country we find little worthie of relation. For it is poore, and hath no wood growing upon it. Their corne is barley and oates. Their fire is turffe; their houses are low and unseemly without, and as homely within."[74] There is a gesture here to the duties of observation outlined above: a chorographic account of a landscape including notes on both natural resources and the human resources of the knowledge and skills of the inhabitants - who are themselves both the subjects of a vaguely ethnographic gaze, and the recipients of a clear affective tribute of gratitude and respect.

Markham believes the passage to come from a missing portion of the manuscript covering the voyage up until departure from St Margaret's Hope.[75] The surviving journal, which covers only six pages, consists of evenly spaced entries, each generally under a hundred words long, in which Knight tersely records navigational observations: apart from a tantalising episode involving "an Iland of Ise", on which "we found the footinge of men and chilldren and the footings of cattle as cows or deere and the prints of dogs footings"[76] he was to have no more opportunities for recording chorography or human encounter. Knight was a seaman rather than a merchant, and moreover employed as such: were he capable of the urbane locutions of a Sharpeigh or Jourdain (which seems unlikely, given the sparse evidence of his entry on Orkney), he had neither the professional need nor the opportunity to employ them. Instead he notes winds, currents, and the precise location of everything he finds:

> From wednsday at noone tyll 2 aclock our course north alongst the ise seemed to trend away norest, and agayne at this place seemed somewhat thin or skatred. I made in with the ship having a fayre gale of wind and fayre weather, the wind

[74] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1905-1907), XIV (1906), pp. 353-363 (pp. 353-354).
[75] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 281, fn.
[76] IOR L/MAR/A/II, fol. 4^{v}: *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 290.

> being at south west and be southe, our course for the most p*rt* west and be southe bearinge up for one ise and loofing for another tyll thursday at noone beinge the 12th, the Θ beinge 30 deg. above the horison. He was to the southwards of the est 22 deg. allso agayne he beinge 42 deg he was 48.40 to the southwards of the est, so by workynge the varyatyon of the compas is found to be to the eastward of the southe havyinge latytud 58 deg.[77]

What is at stake here is the precise identification of where the coast of Labrador can be found, and where future voyagers can expect to find sea ice: the primary purpose of this writing is to furnish data for the making of charts and rutters. Some journals are so attuned to this that they anticipate the language of the rutter: the journal of Robert Bonner or Boner, published in Purchas, speaks directly in its voice, occasionally abandoning continuous reference to the writer's own course:

> Aprill the thirteenth, wee had the generall wind. note that you shall seldome meete with the generall wind till you come in two of three degrees to the southward of the Line; and then, when you meet with the Ternadoes (as you shall be sure to meete them in two or three, and sometimes in foure degrees, to the northward of the Line), you must be very diligent to ply to the southward, for therein lyeth the mayne of your good or bad passage.[78]

No crewmens' names appear in Knight's journal, although the narrative voice's oscillation between the first person singular and plural conveys a slippage between individual and corporate identity, largely defined by context: when the Orcadians are entertained and paid oblique tribute, it is Knight who entertains them; when the ice floe is explored and marks of habitation found on it, it is the ships' crew as a whole which observes; when observations are taken and courses steered for the first time, Knight

---

[77] IOR L/MAR/A/II, fol. 3^{r}: *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 288-289.

[78] 'Narrative of Robert Bonner', in *Hakluytus Posthumus*, IV, pp. 154-162; see also *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612- 1614*, ed. by William Foster, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 75 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. 199.

takes the responsibility ("I steered in with the ship"), but when courses are followed through they are a corporate matter ("our course for the most p*rt* west"). Matters of mathematics and navigational observation, though instigated by Knight, occur often in the passive voice ("so by workynge the varyatyon of the compas is found to the eastward of the southe..."): this is perhaps a simultaneous claim to and abjuration of responsibility, implying both the uncontestable facticity of the observed and by extension the expertise of the observer. In extremity, the plural voice is always used: "committing ourselves into the hands of God we sett o*r* flu sayle and forced the shipp with a sayle some ise we drove before us ... Thus God of his mercy guyded for us when we looked for nothinge butt a myserable end, to whom be all prayse and glory for ever more."[79] This is one of the longest and most complex locutions in the whole journal, and it perhaps answers the charge of disingenuousness that I level at the language of piety when deployed in the commissions: this is one of many instances in journals, both primary drafts and more finished productions, in which God is invoked with no apparent rhetorical purpose but the wish to render genuine praise in extremity, and the writer comes into focus as a recorder of subjective experience.

Given the circumstances, it appears unlikely that entries were written up daily: but Knight had certainly caught up by the 26th of June, because his handwriting stops mid-sentence at the moment he leaves his cabin to attend to business - from which, as it turns out, he never returns.

[79] IOR L/MAR/A/II, fol. 4^{v}; *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 290.

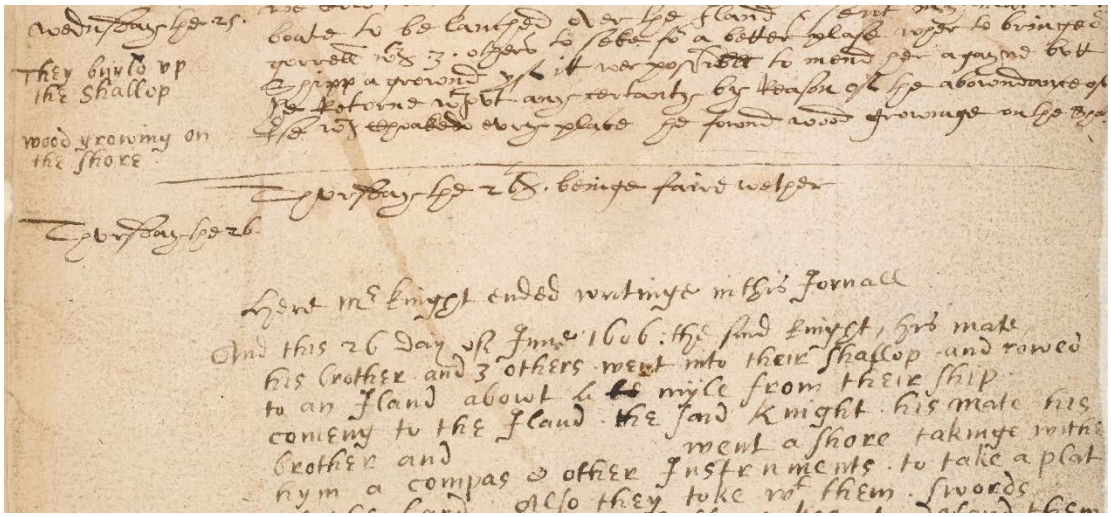


Fig. 1 IOR L/MAR/A/II, fol. 4[r] (detail)

The writer of the postscript that ends the journal is unidentified: Purchas says that one Oliver Browne (Markham argues for Brownel), one of the two men left with the shallop when Knight and the others disappeared, continued the journal from Knight's death, and provides extracts from it; but the manuscript, clearly a separate document (the verso of the last leaf of Knight's journal is blank) has not reappeared.[80] This moment brings the seductiveness of the journals into sharp focus. Knight's journal is a highly efficient recording device, impressively agile in moving between modalities of information and varying claims to personal agency of the person who wrote it, but that person is largely absent. Knight himself only really becomes present at the point at which he disappears from the text, as from the world, mid-sentence: the only entry we can definitively date is the one he interrupts halfway through to go to his death, and the only way we can identify his hand on the page is because it is replaced by another.

[80] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 293-294.

Another journal, that of Rafe Crosse in the *Hosiander* (third voyage), demonstrates what the journal could do in terms of recording encounter, trade, and the complex negotiations and conflicts involved in the strictly mercantile side of business. The page reproduced in Appendix A, pp. 320-321, deals with the *Hosiander*'s stay at Aceh and ongoing diplomacy with the Sultan for letters of permission to trade in Priaman.[81] The text of the journal as a whole is continuous, and may be worked up from notes or a copy; its heavy excerption in Purchas argues for multiple copies having been made. Up to a certain point, it had been the journal of one Rafe Standish, who passed it to Crosse to be carried on when he died, presumably not long after the journal was begun, since nothing identifiable as by Standish remains in it: his name is crossed out and replaced by Crosse's on the cover leaf, and the page studied here records his death.[82] Standish's death occasions a demonstration of how the journal could serve as the referential backbone of the other papers produced by a voyage: it records the date of Standish's decease, "the maikinge of | awill as *per* the Terms apereth", and the names of the witnesses, and not without backing up the will's claim to the deceased being in possession of "*per*fectt Memorie" at the time of writing it, naming the witnesses, and making an efficient gesture at pious homiletics in the ,ing of the death itself.

The news brought from "Messapotania"[83] records carefully what the "ffleminge passenger" reports about occurrences on board the *Globe*: besides the obvious use to merchants on the ground in recording this carefully in order to check against any later news (thus assessing, amongst other things, the Dutchman's reliability as a source of

[81] IOR L/MAR/A/XVI, fol. 21^{r}.
[82] IOR L/MAR/A/XVI, fol. 1^{r}.
[83] This may be a mistake, or a particularly fanciful spelling, for Masulipatnam.

intelligence), this is a record which can be set against the *Globe*'s own records when all are received in London, underwriting the veracity of both accounts. Moreover, by recording the precise date at which intelligence is received, the factors can give the shareholders a better account for the substance of their decisions.

The accounts of diplomacy are similarly directed: as in the lost page of Knight's journal, records of courtesy and courtly behaviour are indications of at least the appearance of favour, that can be acted upon by later merchants, and of social/diplomatic debts that must be honoured; likewise, "promisses of honor and | Creditt to our Ge: ffor the fame of our Nation", however qualified by Crosse's slightly sceptical tone, can be read as carefully-noted records of a favour owing.[84] Indeed, while Crosse's suggestion of irony in relating all this is a record of subjective experience, it may also be construed as a form of rhetorical insurance against personal responsibility should the Sultan's promises never come good. Likewise, the note on the Sultan's supposedly disproportionate pleasure at receiving the "English [model] shipp" is the mark of a man who wishes to present himself as an astute observer of the powerful: it says both "we can buy this man off with model ships" and "this is a man who can be bought off with model ships", whilst also saying "I notice these things: re-employ me on favourable terms".

The slightly patronising eye that Crosse here turns on a cultural other is in line with the observations he makes on native justice: the account of judicial mutilations

[84] Note also the episode of the death of the "Captt: of the fflemin*ges*". Crosse's note that "our Ge: att his Return | ffrom the Courtt wentt w*th* all his followe*res* to his buriall our trumpetts | soundinge his knell" is a record both of an expression of European and perhaps professional solidarity, and of a carefully effusive staging of diplomatic respect during a period in which the EIC and VOC were, at least nominally, avoiding violent competition. (Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade,* pp. 44-49).

and desecration of executed criminals' bodies is ‘soft’ information, of little immediate concrete use, but commensurate with the practices of general observation noted above.[85] The violent juxtaposition of court niceties with the corpse left for the dogs "w*th*out the Gaitt" is another moment which poses complex questions about textual agency and intent. It is evidence of either prosaic clumsiness in tight formal constraints, or of rhetorical skill; if evidence of skill, how much does it testify to the subjective experience of emotion, and how much to the wish to perform that experience as a tool of narrative charm and complicity? And if charm is the aim, how much of it is aimed at the journal's first readers in Leadenhall Street, who have the power to remunerate and re-employ the author, and how much at the future readers of published travel compilations? Some of it may even be directed at the other factors, the true first readers of the journal according to the commission's instructions: journals may also contain the traces of the complex relations of friendship, solidarity and antagonism so evident in the letters.

There remains, in this archive as in any other, the possibility that some journals were fabricated or altered in some way, to conceal compromising truths or unfortunate bookkeeping practices. The possibility of textual alteration, on the order of minor or tactical falsification and massaging, is serious enough to argue for an acknowledgement of this activity as a significant determinant of documentary form and content - albeit in ways we can never hope to reconstruct except in the most fleeting and fragmentary way. Such a reconstruction would also have to commit to marking a distinction between systematic untruth and ‘mere’ performativity, a distinction which

[85] These punishments are also noted in the journal of Patrick Copland, from a lost MS, digested in *Hakluytus Posthumus*, IV, pp. 147-153, reproduced in *Voyage of Thomas Best*, pp. 209-213.

even at its most pragmatic and circumstantial would risk violating the compact between the writing self and the discourses available to it. Plenty of the EIC's servants' actual bookkeeping and communications would have been conducted in deliberate secrecy from their employers, and have never survived into the Company's archives (see the discussion of the shadow archive of private trade in my introduction); the practices of collaborative authorship, underwriting and witnessing must have lost much of their effectiveness as guarantors of transparency when, as was often the case, all the collaborators present at any one time were mutually involved in systematic malfeasance.[86] In the case of journals, we must also acknowledge the fact that, being well acquainted with Hakluyt and private publications of travel narratives (and often with their authors and the exploits described therein), the writers of journals may well have been writing with one eye on eventual publication and, indeed, on posterity: by extension, the journals and other records can in no way be read as somehow prior to (or innocent of) the colonialist mythography of Hakluyt, Purchas and Ramusio. It is hard to imagine that William Keeling, reading to his officers from Hakluyt during consultations on the best way to proceed through the Atlantic, was blind to the possibility of his own journals ending up in a similar publication.[87]

The journals can be read as straightforwardly rhetorical and performative texts in ways that more dialogic texts such as letters cannot be: essentially monologic in address, and addressing an audience potentially larger than the Court and

[86] See P. J. Marshall, 'Private British Trade in the Indian Ocean before 1800', in *European Commercial Expansion*, ed. by Om Prakash, pp. 237-262; Arun Das Gupta, 'The Maritime Trade of Indonesia, 1500-1800', in *European Commercial Expansion*, ed. by Prakash, pp. 81-116; Erikson and Bearman, 'Malfeasance and the Foundations for Global Trade'.

[87] Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals*, p. 14.

Committees of the EIC, their authors are afforded the space and time in which to fashion, through the flow of actual events, a narrative self and a collective identity, and to make special pleas for their own powers of action and observation in a general sense. Barbour is surely correct in arguing that the journals vividly articulate both the texture of Company servants' lived experience and "the defining predicaments of proto-imperial capitalism as it went global from England".[88] Ultimately, however, he fails to quite appreciate the extent to which some of this vividness and sense of access is the result of conscious textual performance and rigorous self-presentation. In attributing the journals' often striking subjective content to "the daily obligation to write, and the prolific stresses of the voyage, provok[ing] meditations that the task's corporate framing inhibited",[89] he misses the fact that, whatever the irruptions of affect - whether in expressions of piety, or disorienting/disoriented reactions to extreme experience - there is nothing in these journals that is not accounted for by the documentary culture the Company codifies and calls forth in its commissions.

iv: Letters

In the records of the early EIC, the letters constitute by far the largest and most varied surviving body of material. The Company's business - the movement of ships, goods, and people - was initiated by commissions and recorded by journals and consultations, but transacted largely by letter. They are perhaps the most difficult documents in the archive to approach: their variety, complexity and modes of absorption into the archive

[88] Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals*, pp. 2-3.
[89] Barbour, *The Third Voyage Journals*, p. 21.

all present interpretative challenges which modern scholarship on early modern epistolary cultures can only begin to address.

The first challenge is the shape of the archive itself. Letters flowing outward from London are usually preserved in IOR B/2, a large copybook dating from 1600 to 1618 and known as the 'First Letter Book' since the early nineteenth century. It contains copies of a wide variety of documents, with instruments of authority and Crown affairs predominating: there are many commissions (of both types) and letters patent, a good number of letters from the sovereign to foreign princes (and translations of the replies), several petitions to the King and Court, charters, bonds of service, and a smattering of letters from factors abroad where they contain notable information about foreign markets or diplomatic developments. Most of the content, however, is outward-flowing, from the Company to its employees and correspondents at home and abroad. It is also more or less purely textual: it preserves the words, but none of the spatial, graphic, or material rhetorics of the original documents.[90]

Most of the inward-flowing letters that the company deemed worth preserving are catalogued in IOR E/3, consisting of 49 volumes, and known as the 'Original Correspondence', since the first collation towards a series of that name was made under Peter Pratt's tenure as Searcher of the Records in the 1820s and early 1830s.[91] For the years 1600-1623, there are approximately 147 items in the 'First Letter Book' and 5,874 in the Original Correspondence.[92] The Original Correspondence from 1602 to

[90] IOR B/2 fols 118^{r} - 124^{r}, fols 126^{v} - 127^{v}; *First Letter Book*, pp. 328-348, 356-359.
[91] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. v.
[92] Note, however, that there are two series named the Original Correspondence in the history of the IOR: the "original" Original Correspondence dating back to Pratt's tenure at the East India House, and the greatly augmented version of it consolidated through the interventions of Birdwood and his staff up until the 1890s, and transcribed and printed as *Letters Received*. The numberings of Original Correspondence items here are taken from the latter.

December 1617 is transcribed in full in the seven volumes of *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, compiled by George Birdwood, F.C. Danvers, William Foster and Arthur Wollaston. The other major source is Series G, the Factory records; as has been seen, it was standard practice to copy out letters in factory consultation-books and other ledgers.

Formulating any kind of generalised model of EIC epistolary practice is a difficult endeavour: the textual, rhetorical and material variants are too widely distributed, and the possible scripts too numerous, and too subject to constant reinvention, to identify a codified set of practices in the same way that one might for the commissions or the journals. This is, of course, a common complaint of scholars of early modern epistolarity, a field of practice and discourse which often seems inexhaustibly generative of improvisation, rule-breaking and the unexpected: as Susan E. Whyman remarks in her study of the Verney family correspondence, "typicality is a helpful concept when one deals with statistical sources but it is less relevant for a rich trove of letters".[93] There are also the specificities of bookkeeping and the complexities of transmission to deal with. Letters copied into ledgers, for example in the factory records, sometimes only survive in abstract, and many surviving letters are in fact only part of whole packets of documents - including accounts, manifests, invoices, commissions, remittances, petitions, wills, journals, ledgers and records of consultations - to which they refer, and without which they are at best fragmentary texts.

[93] Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 11-12.

This fragmentariness - the conception of the letter not as a self-contained communicative text, but as the surviving material trace (often fugitive, dislocated or denatured) of an interaction, is at the centre of much modern scholarship on early modern cultures of epistolarity.[94] In the EIC context, Miles Ogborn's writing on the royal letters turns a forensic gaze on every part of the logistics of the communication, in which the actual textual and material letter and its production are only parts of a complex communicative technology that is also determined by networks of influence, technologies of travel and the constitution of political and accounting spaces.[95] Ogborn's analysis generally submits the cultural to the systemic, tending more towards Law's Latourian models of mobile networks and broadly Foucauldian conceptualisations of power than towards the textuality, texture and relative fragility of the object itself: there sometimes emerges the sense that situated cultural determinants are fundamentally antagonistic to the frictionless ideal of the movement of information.[96] In the work of Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe, James Daybell, Lynne Magnusson and Lisa Jardine, the pragmatics of production, questions of transmission and reading intersect with concerns of materiality and the material, visual and spatial rhetorics of manuscript production. Magnusson and Jardine in particular have traced the rhetorics of vernacular letter-writing through the Erasmian revolution of the mid-sixteenth century, the revival of classical models by humanist scholarly networks, the proliferation of secretary-books and letter-writing primers, and the growth of epistolarity both as a literary technology for the production of social selves

[94] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 33-5; 'Writing Travels', p. 157.
[95] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 27-66.
[96] See, for example, *Indian Ink*, pp. 67-103.

and as a useful literary trope in itself.[97] It should be noted that the majority of these works confine themselves to letters travelling within early modern England, usually between members of courtly elites.[98] In most respects this focus has reflected the richness of the available archives and allowed scholars to focus on unearthing the codes and practices of epistolarity as a social transaction: when Whyman observes the impossibility of "typicality", she makes the comment in the context of discussing the distorting effects of working on one particular and quite limited archive, featuring a cast of correspondents who are mostly from the same family: arguably, such an observation could not be made of a body of material that did not have at least some internal coherence, where one might expect the recurrence of certain features, or indeed discern just enough consistency to be disappointed by its weakness.

The shape of the surviving body of material also intimates its exclusions. The fact that Danvers and Foster entitled their seven-volume collection of Original Correspondence transcripts *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* reflects the primary limit to the archive's reach: the Company could only preserve and file that which was sent to it. Many of the letters here are not in fact

---

[97] Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*; Lisa Jardine, *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 78-97; Lynne Magnusson, 'A Pragmatics for Interpreting Shakespeare's Sonnets 1 to 20: Dialogue Scripts and Erasmian Intertexts', in *Methods in Historical Pragmatics: Approaches to Negotiated Meaning in Historical Contexts*, ed. by Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 167-184.

[98] Ongoing work has begun to focus more on international contexts, including intelligencing/espionage and communications between internationally mobile elite actors; see, for example, the ongoing publication of *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, ed. Nadine Akkerman, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011-), and Robyn Adams' work on the sixteenth-century intelligencer William Herle: 'A Spy on the Payroll? William Herle and the Mid-Elizabethan Polity', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 266-280; Adams, 'A Most Secret Service: William Herle and the Circulation of Intelligence', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) pp. 63-81; Adams, '"The Service I am Here for": William Herle in the Marshalsea Prison, 1571', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 72 (2009), 217-238.

addressed to the Company, but sent between merchants and mariners across the sphere of the Company's operations. While this includes the most formal types of documents - commissions, instructions to fleets on sailing, merchants' consultations signed by all present, or lists of papers sent in packets so that the contents could be checked on arrival - it also includes the letters sent between ship and shore, and the friendly or unfriendly notes sent between EIC employees in the daily transaction of business. This kind of material can be of considerable import, such as the agonized correspondence between the imprisoned Henry Middleton and his colleagues aboard ship during the Mocha affair. It can also, however, include the most domestic material. Richard Cocks, chief factor at the factory in Japan, writes to his colleague Richard Wickham aboard a ship in the harbour by the factory: "Mr Wickham, I thought you and Ed. Sayer would have come to dinner [...] but your host came and told me that foul weather stayed you. I send John Phebe with a little fresh fish for you".[99] Vast amounts of correspondence, however apparently trivial, were sent in packets back to London. It can be assumed, therefore, that very little was written without the writer knowing that it might end up in the hands of the Court. Given the amount of malfeasance that took place, much material must have moved around without ever being forwarded to the Company. Receiving letters such as Cocks' to Wickham may have reassured the Court that they had complete knowledge of all their employees' activities: sending such materials may have been designed to make them think so, and perhaps they were aware of the ruse. The desire Whyman expresses for 'typicality' is particularly pointed when applied to an archive

[99] 'Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham, aboard the Sea Adventure, at Cochi in Firando. Firando in Japan, the 10th December, 1614', in *Letters Received*, II, p. 223.

which one strongly suspects to be more disingenuous in the first principles of its accumulation than many.

Letters addressed specifically to the Court, whilst not representative of the epistolary links by which trading networks were sustained, are at least 'typical' in that they represent the early EIC factors' conception of an ideal merchant's letter to his superiors. The example studied here is a letter written by John Jourdain, sent from Bantam on 2 January 1614.[100] It is numbered 242 (1) in the Original Correspondence catalogue, and a full transcript and images of the first and last pages are supplied in Appendix A, pp. 324-334.[101]

Jourdain was the chief factor at Bantam, and of the Bantam presidency, almost continuously from 1613 until his death in a skirmish with a Dutch ship in 1619. As Bantam President, he was effectively the chief agent for the whole eastern sphere of the Company's trade, encompassing the Indonesian archipelago, Borneo, Malaya, and outlying factories and points of contact in Siam and Japan. [102] In a sense he was the most important man in the whole network, only matched by the chief factor at Surat, who controlled operations in the Subcontinent. His letters to the Company were significant events, and the complexity of the communication reflects its importance.

Jourdain's letter is written over three folio pages of high-quality paper, almost all of which is covered in his own dense and precise hand. Insofar as it can be said to

---

[100] IOR E/3/2, fols 201^{r} - 203^{v}; Original Correspondence no. 242(1), 'John Jourdain to the East India Company. Sent per the Globe. Bantam, the 10th February, 1614'. 242(1) is not transcribed in *Letters Received*, but rather a duplicate dated the 2 January and numbered 226. (*Letters Received*, II, pp. 268-280.) All dates are given in Old Style, with the new year beginning on 25 March; so Jourdain's letter was sent in 1615 new style.

[101] IOR E/3/2, fols 201^{r} - 203^{v}; Original Correspondence no. 242(2), 'John Jourdain to the East India Company. Sent per the Globe. Bantam, the 10th February, 1614' in *Letters Received*, II, pp. 312-319.

[102] Foster, Introduction, *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. viii – lxxvi.

represent the ideal of a merchant's letter, it is almost drastically unshowy. There is no use of the elaborate visual and textual rhetorics that characterised early modern courtly or petitory letters: Jourdain does not use blank space to signify deference, but only to allow room for the detailed marginalia which are added at a later date. His forms of address are not extravagant and nor does he waste time of elaborate expressions of respect. He begins:

> Right worp[ll]: Our duties remembred etc: may it please y*ou* understand that *per* the Concord, who [arrived] | heer the 8[th] of Sept. Last : we rcd your woo[ps]: lres: understanding therby at full yo*ur* mindes con[cerning] | all matters: whi*ch* w*ith* the help of god wee will effect & follow in all points as neere as god shall give us [grace, etc.][103]

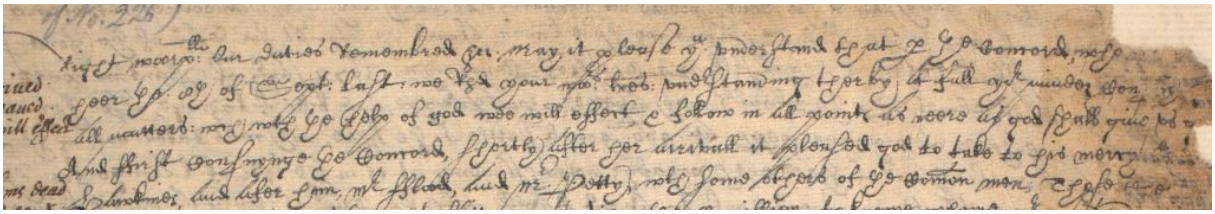


Fig. 2 IOR E/3/2, fol. 201[r] (detail)

The end of the letter, and Jourdain's subscription, is similarly straightforward:

> Herrw*i*thall goeth a noate of what *pro*vision is | put into the James, so alsoe of the men; And soe att present I conclude comendynge | y[r] woo[rs]: with yo*ur* affaires ^to^ the m*er*cyfull *pro*tection of Almighty god I rest | Bantam the 15 January Yo[r] wo[rps] to comaund in all duty John Jourdain [flour.]
> Ann˚ 1614

[103] IOR E/3/2, fol 201[r].

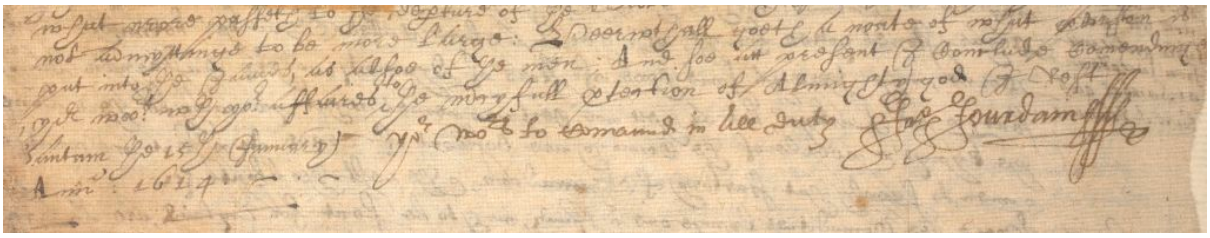


Fig. 3 IOR E/3/2, fol. 203[v] (detail)

The only concession to a flamboyant epistolary aesthetic is Jourdain's signature, enlarged in fig. 3. This is not to say that the letter does not have an aesthetic intent: but that intent, clearly, is to give the impression of sober utility, to emphasize that what matters is the information with which it is densely packed. Much of this concerns the immediate concerns of trade: Jourdain goes into detail on where pepper can be bought and sold, where factories have been opened, which ships are seaworthy and which not, who has died and who has been posted to subsidiary factories. There is much here about the situation in Bantam, and concerning the competition with the Dutch which would soon erupt into open warfare. Some of the most interesting material, however, concerns the problems of the Company's authority and control at a distance. Jourdain begins with an account of recent deaths which have disrupted the chain of command:

> [...]it pleased god to take to his mercy G[iles] | Hawkines, and after him, m*r* fflood, and m*r* Petty, w*ith* some others of the com*m*on men; These [chief] | men being dead yt was thought ffittynge to view the Comission, to knowe whome yo*ur* woo˜: had [ordained] | to succeed, and findyng *per* the sayd comission& the two boxes w*hi*ch we openned, that after the [death] | of m*r* fflood, th*at* none was nomynated, but was to be chosen *per* a general Consent of m*er*chants [at first] | it was thought necessary to leave the charge of the shipp to m*r* Bennett, in the meane time [not] having | any other more sufficient[...][104]

[104] IOR E/3/2, fol. 201[r].

Magnusson's work on commissions discusses the system of sealed boxes by which precedence was preserved and, so the Company evidently hoped, mortality outflanked.[105] Outward-bound voyages would be provided with a series of boxes containing the order of reversion of offices, to be opened only in the event of a specific office holder dying; thus, as employees succumbed to the appalling mortality rates which obtained on board ship and in ports such as Bantam, the Court could exert a certain amount of control over the Company's structure. Here, mortality has outstripped the Court's anticipation, and there are no boxes left to open: the authority to nominate merchants to the vacant posts is left up to a council on the spot. Where Jourdain has exercised his prerogative to act alone (having little choice in the matter), he apologetically refers those actions to the Company's pleasure. During the period 1613 to 1616, the Company's finances were in a state of transition from terminably-financed voyages to a joint stock, both systems operating simultaneously in the field. When Jourdain finds that he cannot charge a ship's lading to the voyage expected, and must improvise by charging it to joint stock, knowing that the Court is likely to find this awkward, he writes "[...]*pro*vided alwaies that your worships are content thereof at home[...]", and " This ys wholly refferred to your woo^{ps} pleasure".[106] Here, rhetorical sleight of hand covers a gap in authority: at a distance of six months' communication for messages to pass from Bantam to London, and a years' wait for more instructions to return, he invokes the Court's authority and submits to their wills whilst doing what he must, or what he wants to do, on the other side of the world.

[105] Magnusson, 'Commissioning Letters', pp. 4-5.
[106] IOR E/3/2, fol. 201^{r}.

The Company's authority is also readily referred to when Jourdain wishes to express dissatisfaction with his colleagues. He appears to have had a rift with Captain Marlow of the *James*, and finds it convenient to blame him and his crew for recent misfortunes, who, he writes, have "at all points digrest from commission".[107] In fact, much of the letter is taken up with complaints of the bad behaviour of Jourdain's colleagues. This is the document that contains the account of Richard Cobb, who has been deprived "*per* a generall consent"[108] of the status of merchant, and whom no captain will consent to carry home. The crew of the *James* have aroused Jourdain's particular ire:

> [But, God sending the James well home,] |we doe not doubt but y^{r} woo^{ps}: shalbe at full acquaynted w*i*th the disorders of these [voyage. In] | all places where they have bene, they have left themselues famous, wth Infamy to our [nation,] | what *per* ffighting, brablinge, & Contention amongst themselves, troblinge all mean wher [they] | Come, hath bine the Cause, that all, both strangers, & others [are weary] of their Company[...][109]

This is an acid use of the language of piety: God's help is invoked, but only so that the Court can see who they have employed. As in the journals, there is a sense here of a subjective personality asserting itself: Jourdain is expressive, dryly funny and spiteful, and appears to cultivate the persona of a harrassed agent attempting to carry out conscientious work against insuperable odds. The letter is a narrative of business, an accounting, an exculpation, a means of informing on his colleagues for bad behaviour (and, in the case of Captain Marlow, private trading), and evidently a strenuous performance of identity.

---

[107] IOR E/3/2, fol. 201^{v}.
[108] IOR E/3/2, fol. 202^{r}.
[109] IOR E/3/2, fol. 202^{r}.

The marginalia on Jourdain's letter were most likely written by a Company clerk, or one of the Court of Committees. They fillet and prioritise information, noting prices, ladings and departures, naming the dead, noting changes of office, (see fig. 4) and recording infractions: "Sheppards acco | imperfect", and "Marlo traded | publicly" are both the kind of information that the Court would wish to know. It can be assumed that Jourdain's letter was read on arrival and "read to court", and in a sense, like all letters, it only has meaning at the point of being read, where it becomes a means of communication and contact between absent interlocutors. Precisely what happened to it when the *Globe* reached London, however, can only be fragmentarily traced.

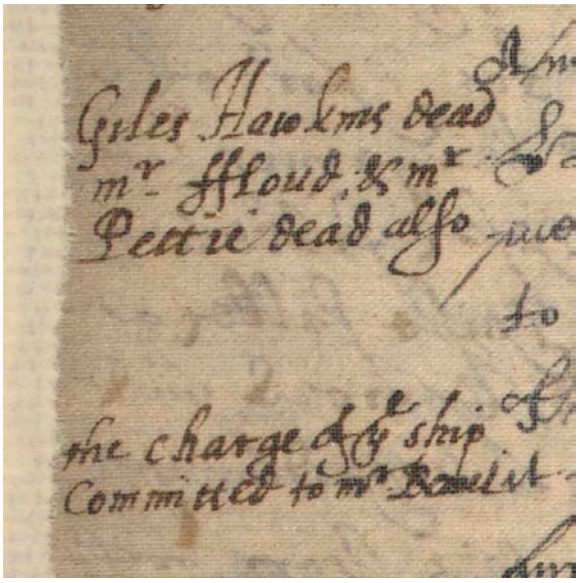


Fig. 4 IOR E/3/2, fol. 201^{r} (detail)

v: Archiving and custodianship

On arrival in London, the packages from the East were handled with a keen awareness of their importance. This is often recorded in the Court Minutes: ships arriving at the

Downs would be enjoined by messenger to send their packages to Leadenhall Street as soon as possible, before any further progress upriver or unlading should begin. The thirst for information was not limited to what could be committed to paper: in August 1615 the court records record that, the merchant Peter Floris having arrived in from the East in a state of "dangerous sickness", and "knowing how much his safety doth import the Company for the intelligence which they may receive of him", he is to be brought overland to the City in a litter.[110] On arrival, the most important correspondence would be "read before court", the Court having been specially convened for the purpose; the circumstance and the date is usually recorded on the materials themselves. Documents such as factory consultations and letterbooks, legal papers and accounts, being of less immediate urgency than the direct intelligence contained in letters and reports, would not in most cases (as far as we can tell) be read out immediately; more likely they would be passed along to committees, clerks or officials who would be detailed to produce digests and abstracts, and recommendations on how to proceed in individual cases.

Thereafter, following documents through the archive becomes extremely difficult. One of the major difficulties of the EIC's archive is that there is no way of following much of the early material: most of it is not catalogued until the beginning of the nineteenth century. What can be traced is the transmission of information: where material contained specific data, that information's re-emergence elsewhere can be taken as evidence of contact (perhaps, admittedly, at a remove) between the original material and its mediator. For information to have been both useful and available for

[110] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1634, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and Elsewhere*, 5 vols (London: printed for HMSO by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1862-92), ed. by Noel Sainsbury, I, p. 426.

the purpose at hand, the balance of probability would generally indicate that that contact was intentional; and, therefore, that the information was both known and retrievable.

To some extent, this is the case with material that involved navigational data. All navigational materials - the journals, as well as any charts and navigational notes - were required by commission to be returned, with the threat of remuneration being withheld until they were supplied. No evidence survives of any special arrangements for their storage, although the affair of Purchas' troubled access to them suggests a degree of policing and anxiety which was perhaps not backed up by an organised response. The EIC did not keep a centralized hydrographical or geographical archive, and did not produce its own charts, but contracted out the business of chart-making and cartography to the "Thames School" at Wapping, which at the time held an informal monopoly on advanced navigational cartography.[111] Here, a contrast with the VOC's strategies of information management is instructive. The Dutch Company owed much of its navigational expertise east of the Cape of Good Hope to Portuguese pilots' knowledge and assistance, and from the time of the 'pre-company' voyages the Dutch seem to have inherited a culture of navigational secrecy from the Portuguese. Not only did the VOC make the return of all logbooks and navigational notes a contractual

[111] Thomas R. Smith, 'Manuscript and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth-Century London: The Case of the Thames School' in *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Norman J. W. Thrower (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 45-100. Smith's article argues for the existence of a structure of collaboration and sharing of premises, at times fairly loose, between various largely independent cartographers, and the institution of a small number of apprenticeships under the auspices of the Drapers' Company (pp. 45-57). See also David Turnbull, 'Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces', *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996) 5-24.

obligation to an extent not reflected in the EIC's commissions, but a specific vow of secrecy enjoined absolute informational security:

> ...all journals charts, notes, drawings of lands, towns, rivers, roadsteads, ports, capes or promontories, signs in the skies, courses and all other data relevant to navigation on this voyage ... will be delivered into the hand of the Admiral or Directors, whether formally requested or not, without withholding any copies or drafts of informing others thereof.[112]

On return, all such materials were absorbed into what became by the 1630s a model hydrographic office: a systematized bureaucratic structure for the commissioning, reception, recombination and mobilization of navigational data, not unlike the Portuguese *Armazem da Guine e Indias* or the Spanish *Casa de Contratación* of more than a century earlier.[113] Separate rooms in the Oostindisch Huis in Amsterdam were devoted to repositories of charts and rutters, and the collected archive of knowledge protected by strict protocols: no changes could be made to master documents without multiple approval and witnessing, and the master hydrographer had to submit a report every six months itemizing all such changes. The VOC engaged the best cartographers and geographers of the day - Peter Plancius, Hessel Gerritsz., and the Blaeu family - as salaried employees, bringing them within the corporate fold and ensuring their loyalty through oaths. This effective capture of expertise would place the VOC at the centre of some of the richest cartographical and geographical achievements of the seventeenth century: Joan Blaeu's monumental *Atlas Maior* of 1662, to take one example, drew

---

[112] Günter Schilder and Hans Kok, *Sailing for the East*, p. 24. The translation is a vow signed by all mariners on the fleet of Jacob van Neck in 1598; Schilder and Kok argue that similar oaths continued to be administered under the VOC.

[113] J.B. Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe', *Imago Mundi*, 40 (1988), 57-76 (pp. 61-63); Günter Schilder, 'Organization and Evolution of the Dutch East India Company's Hydrographic Office in the Seventeenth Century, *Imago Mundi*, 28 (1976), 61-78; Schilder and Kok, pp. 13-127.

heavily on geographic data supplied through the VOC, for whom he served as chief mapmaker from 1638 to 1673.[114] Concurrently, a secondary hydrographical office was established at Batavia, where charts and sailing directions could be professionally produced as it were *in situ*.[115] By contrast, the EIC's policy seems amateurish: as we have seen, informational security was harsh enough to be an annoyance to Purchas but not efficient enough to prevent significant leakage. The Thames School did, however, produce charts of a quality equal to those of the Dutch, and there is no evidence that the Company suffered unduly from poor or inadequate charts. As Sarah Tyacke demonstrates through her survey of Gabriel Tatton's maritime atlas, the Company's collection and collation of navigational information may have been more peripatetic and decentralized than the fiercely routinized practices of the VOC, but was nonetheless the focus of considerable energy and expertise.[116] In fact, the EIC's approach to hydrography was to remain somewhat *laissez-faire* until Alexander Dalrymple's efforts of the late eighteenth century, culminating in his appointment as Chief Hydrographer to the Admiralty, and that body's effective capture of British hydrographical activity.[117] As I show in Chapter 6, from 1867 onwards Clements R.

---

[114] Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion, 1997), pp. 181-3; Schilder and Kok, pp. 85-107.

[115] Schilder and Kok, pp. 13-127.

[116] Sarah Tyacke, 'Gabriel Tatton's Maritime Atlas of the East Indies, 1620-1621: Portsmouth Royal Naval Museum, Admiralty Library Manuscript, MSS 352', *Imago Mundi*, 60 (2008), 39-62. Opinions do differ slightly on this issue: Smith's study of the Thames School concludes that English chartmaking ended the century, as it began it, struggling to keep up with and often dependent upon the Dutch. (Smith, 'Manuscript and Printed Sea-Charts', pp. 93-96).

[117] Andrew S. Cook, 'Establishing the Sea Routes to India and China: Stages in the Development of Hydrographical Knowledge', in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, ed. by H. V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 119-136. This is not to say that old maps, charts, and rutters were not pressed into service well into the nineteenth century: the *Statement of the Princes of the Eastern Seas* discussed in Chapter 3 features an elaborate reproduction of a map of Seram made by a member of the Thames School, and several other maps certificated as having been compiled from materials found in the Records by the *Statement*'s author Thomas Fisher. (IOR G/21/1, fol. 139^{r}, unpaginated leaf.)

Markham initiated a systematic cataloguing of the old maps and charts, pursuing his own belief (which few shared) that the data they contained might improve contemporary hydrographical knowledge.[118]

The transmission of other information is less easy to trace, however. Letters rarely contain information specific enough to follow through the stages of its movement, and the duplication upon which the company insisted in establishing its networks makes the task more difficult. Even where the transmission of a narrative might seem to have taken place, the process of elimination in deciding between likely sources is complicated by the sheer amount of missing material. It does not seem impossible, for example, that Purchas had access to the letters of Middleton, Downton and others whilst writing his lively account of the Mocha affair. His usual practice, however, was to use journals, many of which do not survive.[119] In the absence of any identifiable intertextual resonances - and there are none in this case - one is left to conclude that Purchas either did not have access to the letters, or did not choose to use them. Like the majority of the early letters, therefore, the next we hear of them is in the Original Correspondence catalogue of Peter Pratt, dated 1835, but compiled from earlier lists that Pratt acknowledges lost.[120]

Repeated entries in the Court of Committees records for 1607 and 1609 recommend “that all letters from and to India and all the answers thereof be entered into a book and coated for future memorie”.[121] At its inception the Company employed,

---

[118] Donovan Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department of the India Office 1867-77', *The Geographical Journal*, 134 (1968), 343-352 (pp. 346-348); Clements R. Markham, *Report on the Geographical Department of the India Office 1867 to 1877* (London: HMSO, 1878).

[119] John Parker, 'Constants and Sources of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*' in *The Purchas Handbook*, pp. 363-484.

[120] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. vi.

[121] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 3.

on-premises, only a Secretary and a Beadle, but nine days after the last-mentioned deliberation (October 17th 1609), the court reports the appointment of one Francis Sadler "as sworn servant of the Co. for the registering of sundry letters and other writings fit to be coated, registered, and kept for use...". [122] In December 1614 an entry in the same series notes that some documents which the court wants to consult cannot be found, and orders that, in future, if any documents are to be lent out from the Company premises they must be copied out into the Company's own copybooks first.[123] A further entry in August of the following year not only indicates that the missing documents still haven't been located, but intimates that some of the missing information has found its way into the wrong hands: "...and some things known which are not fit to be published".[124] It is unlikely to be a coincidence that this increasing frustration with the disorganised nature of the Company's bookkeeping activities and management of information should come in 1614 to 1615, since these are the critical years of the first joint stock account and the establishment of the presidency system: there is an impression here of an organisation beginning to feel the strain of a hitherto unprecedented challenge in informational management, and beginning to meet that challenge through a laborious, often behindhand and frequently involuntary process of innovation.

From what evidence remains, these were the preoccupations that occupied the Company with relation to the management of its burgeoning informational network in the early seventeenth century: making sure what needed to be preserved for future

[122] Foster, *The East India House*, p. 8.
[123] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 3-4.
[124] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 4.

access could be, and ensuring the security of privileged information. Naturally the evidence is partial; not only because much of it does not survive, but because where there is evidence – generally in the form of textual mentions in court minutes and ordinances, in overseas and home correspondence – it normally only relates where there are problems: whatever picture we can gain of the Company's growing archive is defined only negatively.

The situation was hardly improved by the Company's nomadic existence in during its first 48 years, inhabiting a series of shifting and often improvised premises in the City of London. Only in 1648 did the Company move to what was then Craven House on Leadenhall Street, on which site it essentially stayed put until its dissolution. Until the grandiose first rebuilding of 1726-29 the premises grew by a process of gradual and piecemeal expansion into surrounding buildings, with occasional attempts at architectural improvement, especially in the court and public rooms. Where records are referred to, they are noted as being kept in "the garrets", which were given up in part to the records "and other lumber".[125]

For most of this time the records appear to have been in a chaotic state. An entry in the Court Minutes of 1682 alludes to "old books and papers which are in a confused manner layd in the upper garret of the House"; in 1717 the minutes make reference to one of the consultation books of the Surat factory having been cut out of its covers and pilfered, and "great quantities of the Company's packets and other papers … thrown on heaps in the Back Warehouse"; and in 1720 the Court was "moved to consider what was to be done with great numbers of papers, packets, and old books, removed out of

[125] Foster, *The East India House*, pp. 1-67, pp. 53-63 (p. 54).

the Secretary's, Accomptant's, and other offices of the House, and carryed into the warehouse on the other side of the garden, where they lye in the utmost confusion, and it is feared many of them are destroyed".[126] What none of these traces can illuminate is *which* records are being referred to: the historical lacuna that the older records enter around the end of the seventeenth century is one in which not only their location but their order become impossible to determine. The new East India House (completed 1729) contained a Book Office, into which all surviving records were transferred: the archive was beginning to undergo the kind of rationalisation that would enable the Company to grow dramatically by mid-century. Where the older records were kept throughout this process and what their disposition might have been, remains largely unknown. When they reappeared again, to be venerated, displayed and enlisted in the historiographical, personal and political feuds of the IO's antiquarian enthusiasts, they would be collected in patterns which would often seem incomprehensible to their discoverers.

[126] Foster, *The East India House*, p. 51, fn.; Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. ii.

Chapter 3.

The Archive of the East India Company and the Foundation of the India Office Records: History and Contexts

In the preceding chapter I focused on the early records of the EIC and the documentary culture which they constituted. I attempted to situate them within the cultural, political and geographical contexts of their time: as constituent parts of a mobile technology of writing, recording, navigation and control, and as articulations of emergent ideologies, structures of feeling and discursive subject-formation. From this point onwards, my thesis is concerned with how these records were 'rediscovered' by a metropolitan establishment, and how it made use of them within its production and curation of knowledge about the empire it ruled; how they were subjected to processes of archivization, interpretation and scholarly explication; how they were enlisted in the prosecution of political debate, propaganda and the production of imperialist ideologies; and how they were arrogated to the disciplinary claims and institutional interests of imperial antiquarianism, historiography, and geography. Before returning to the IOR itself, however, the following short chapter will attempt to bridge the gap between the early seventeenth and the late nineteenth century. First, I follow the history of the archive through from the founding of the EIC to 1875, situating it briefly within its changing cultural contexts and drawing on recent scholarship regarding its relationship to historiography and the exercise of colonial power. Following this, I outline the major political, institutional and intellectual contexts in which the archive was remade between 1875 and 1891, focusing particularly on the effect of political developments on imperial cultures, changes in archival, antiquarian and museological discourses and practices, the popularity of invented traditions, and the

consolidation of disciplinarity through learned societies and trends towards professionalization.

i. The India Office Records: a brief history up to 1875

Like the physical space in which it is accessed, with its jumbled traces of former regimes of ordering and value, the enormous and variegated terrain of the IOR itself can be read as a stratigraphic record of the processes that have shaped it. Its form is inseparable from its history; and that history, as I will show, reflects that of the ways in which the EIC and IO's empire was both managed and subjected to the procedures by which it could become known; procedures of classification, interpretation, and narration. Therefore a historical account of the archive is incomplete without an account of the historiographical cultures and strategies with which it was intimately involved. The post-colonial turn in scholarship since the late sixties has been particularly fruitful in undertaking critical readings of colonial histories which emphasize the instrumentality of historians in universalizing Eurocentric historical experience and epistemological models, in interpreting and producing a stable 'Orient', in manufacturing justificatory narratives for the sustenance of colonial domination, and in submitting colonised cultures' pasts to the same procedures of domination being simultaneously undergone by their presents. If what happened to the early EIC records from 1875 onwards can be seen as a practice of colonialism applied to the past and its traces, it is worth remembering that the practice was already in possession of a long genealogy.

From the early seventeenth century, the state (especially in its colonial/imperial manifestations), quasi-state actors and new global corporations such as the EIC and the VOC began to capture the means of producing knowledge

about the world; geography, cartography, hydrography and the natural sciences became increasingly disciplined by the power formations of the nation state, the colony and capitalist economy, and mobilised for those actors' purposes.[1] In focusing on the IOR's relation to the practice of historiography and corporate self-presentation one may begin to discern the pattern of an increasingly centralised and organised body of knowledge being mobilised as an instrument of colonial praxis.

As I showed in the preceding chapter, the EIC's earliest regime of record-keeping was primarily oriented towards administrative needs, although the appointment of Hakluyt and Purchas as official historiographers, and the interventions of the Company and its proxies in pamphlet wars, indicated a certain corporate awareness of the importance of narrating the Company as a historical subject, and policing the forms that such narratives might take.[2] Although Hakluyt produced nothing specifically from the Company's records prior to his death in 1616,[3] his successor Samuel Purchas included transcripts and abstracts of several EIC voyage journals in *Hakluytus Posthumus* – in the process enduring a fractious relationship with the Court of Directors, who appear to have been torn between the desire to inscribe their voyages in a public narrative of mercantilist and nationalist exploration and the fear of compromising informational security by giving hard-

[1] Within this thesis, see especially the discussion of the information management systems of the IEC and VOC in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Chapter 2, and the section on 'imperial geography' in Chapter 6, pp. 260-267.

[2] On pamphlets see especially Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 104-156; for a full bibliography of the Company in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Catherine Pickett, *Bibliography of the East India Company: Books, Pamphlets and Other Materials Printed Between 1600 and 1785* (London: The British Library, 2011). For the Company's use of architectural form and public art, see especially Foster, *The East India House*, pp. 125-132.

[3] His major contribution to the Company was to arrange the 1601 translation of *The Journall ... of Jacob Corneliszen Neck*, an account of a 1598 Dutch voyage to the East Indies (Anthony Payne, 'Hakluyt, Richard (1552?–1616)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11892> [accessed 27 Sept 2013]; D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), p. 317).

won navigational, geographical or trade-related information to their rivals. After Purchas' death in 1626, no-one would be officially nominated Historiographer to the Company until Robert Orme in 1769, but arguably a precedent was established: the archive would continue to be simultaneously an instrument for the centralized administration of a trading network (and, later, a colonial empire), and an acknowledged historical repository, a tool for producing narratives in the present and future, that gestured towards posterity through the particularly archival teleology of the "when it will have been".[4]

Although the production, sponsorship and tacit endorsement of pamphlets and other ephemera continued, no particular efforts were made towards producing an integrated or definitive history of the Company's activities. For almost all of the seventeenth century the Company was essentially engaged in a protracted existential struggle, threatened by Dutch competition, economic crises, global war, and the revocation of its monopoly.[5] Such cultural interventions as it made were largely aimed at satisfying immediate political needs – although those immediate political needs could be served by the generation and reactivation of narratives about disputes which were already fading from living memory, as with the continued invocation of the Amboyna massacre during the first and second Anglo-Dutch wars. By the time of Dryden's *Amboyna*, a dramatic production somewhat distantly endorsed by the Company's directors, the incident had arguably passed into political myth.[6] In respect of dictating the terms of its own historical narrative, perhaps the Company's most direct intervention in the archive between the 1630s

[4] Steedman, *Dust*, p. 7.
[5] Chaudhury, pp. 14-73; Lawson, pp. 18-41; Furber, pp. 31-78.
[6] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 104-56; Karen Chancey, 'The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624-1632', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 30 (1998), 583-598 (p. 597).

and the 1730s is the notable absence from the records of its generous charter from Oliver Cromwell, all copies of which seem to have been removed prior to the Restoration.[7]

From the era of Plassey onwards, the growing territorial and fiscal state in India began to produce knowledge on a large scale. This was also the period in which the Company found itself under the necessity of more efficiently managing the enormous amount of paperwork it produced. The two circumstances are of course inextricably linked: as Bernard Cohn points out, the vast revenue-farming operation that the Company had become by the 1780s had necessitated a collection of local knowledge and an investigation of native law, custom and social practices of a scale and level of detail that few states had attempted. Information – produced through the modalities of the survey, the report, the "enquiry" and the account-book – was instrumentalised as knowledge.[8] The need for accurate intelligence and informed employees produced specialisms in history and linguistics; networks of patronage, education and gentility brought classically-educated intellectuals to India as magistrates and administrators; instructed in local languages and cultures by intermediaries, men like Nathaniel Halhed and William Jones, Company employees and colonial functionaries, began to historicize, narrate and define India and the Indians, producing immense contributions to Europe's burgeoning production of a discourse and discipline of Orientalism.

Between the 1770s and the 1830s, the administrative archive grew in concert with the textual productions and institutions of Orientalism, and the

---

[7] Foster, *The East India House*, p. 82.

[8] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 3-15, pp. 57-75; see also C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Company's mobilisation in the public sphere, directly or indirectly, of its own history. The first volume of Robert Orme's *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, written with access to the records, was published in 1763, and Orme's nomination as Historiographer followed in 1769. The same year, the Office of Examiner of Indian Correspondence was instituted to supplement that of Secretary, which since 1709 had been in charge of all incoming documentation. The Book Office was established in 1771; and Harry Verelst's *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal* appeared in 1772, as an intervention in the public debate surrounding the Company's position and activities which culminated in the Regulating Act of 1773. 1784 saw both the foundation of the Bengal Asiatic Society and the establishment of the Board of Control (and its system of duplicating much of the correspondence and transactions of the Company, many of the products of whichwould be destroyed between 1858 and 1864). In 1785, Charles Wilkins' translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* popularized the study of Sanskrit in Europe; William Jones' translation of *Hitopadesa* appeared in 1787, and his *Institutes of Hindu Law* in 1794. At the same time, John Bruce was at work in the Records in London, granted access under the patronage of Henry Dundas to develop his *Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India* (1793), which would be followed in 1810 by his three-volume *Annals of the East India Company* from 1600 to 1707–8.[9]

[9] Michael J. Franklin, 'Jones, Sir William (1746–1794)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com /view/article/15105> [accessed 13 May 2013]; Michael Fry, 'Bruce, John (1744–1826)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3739> [accessed 13 May 2013]; Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's* The History of British India *and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 11-46; Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, pp. 193-219; Sudipta Sen, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 49-56; SinhaRaja Tammita-Delgoda, 'Orme, Robert (1728–1801)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online

British power in India produced - and was defined, excused and sustained by - a wealth of historiographic productions and discourse: in Sudipta Sen's elegant and not overstated formulation, "Clio was the first handmaiden of conquest. Other forms of conquest followed".[10] Cohn places the historiographical mode foremost amongst the six "investigative modalities" by which the British were able to "classify, categorize, and bound the vast social world that was India so that it could be controlled".[11] This marks, in many ways, the point at which emergent discipline of history became a technology of knowledge production and capture, part of a wider project of "documentation, legitimation, classification, and bounding" whose end was the legitimization of (colonial) nation states as "the natural embodiments of history, territory and society".[12] In this formulation, the South Asian and colonial histories of Orme, Verelst, Alexander Dow, James Mill and others, are seen as part of a concerted effort to infiltrate, supplant and supersede South Asians' pre-existing structures of legal, cultural and epistemological authority. Studies of orientalist historiography by Partha Chaterjee, Ranajit Guha, and Javed Majeed have drawn attention to the erasures and substitutions that such a historiography necessitated even at the moment when it seemed that knowledge was being created rather than destroyed – how "colonialist historiography", in Guha's words, "was cultivated on Prehistory's plots".[13] Similarly, Kate Teltscher demonstrates that William Jones' legal and linguistic scholarship was based on a desire to "out-pandit the pandits", to

edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20833> [accessed 13 May 2013].

[10] Sen, *Empire of Free Trade*, p. 30.

[11] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 3-15.

[12] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 3-7.

[13] Partha Chaterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World-History*, pp. 44-45; Majeed, pp. 31-40.

annexe native informants' knowledge in order to control and neutralise it;[14] and Sudipta Sen argues brilliantly for the centrality of the archive's specific procedures of recording and storing information in the process of supplanting Indian ways of knowing with English ones.[15]

The production of a historicized India amenable to British rule also involved an annexation, reformulation and neutralization of its precolonial past.[16] Imposing a narrative in which ante-colonial India was distinguished by *topoi* of tyranny, decay, ignorance and abjection, and submitted to analogy with medieval Europe (as did James Mill's *History of India*, and as would be a commonplace by the time of Seeley) made the subcontinent, in all its alterity and resistance, amenable to a frame of reference in which a Christianized narrative endorsed and valorized by European history and Enlightenment teleology might be played out. The arrival of a European political awareness and teleological model of development would, according to this model, redeem the Orient from its essential ahistoricity, promoting it from cyclical succession of empires to a linear narrative of progress.[17] However, as Majeed

---

[14] Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 194-228 (p. 224).

[15] '[T]he history of the rise of colonial rule has also been guided by the archival context of a documentary regime built on the management of revenue... This is not to argue simply that historians are too often drawn into the logic and facticity of the colonial modes of documentation and are to some extent prone to adopt in their own interpretations the inherent axioms of the language of administration... Presuppositions about the nature of Indian society and its commercial potential were generated in the lengthy routine of documentation and archivization that distinguished the colonial era, often by mere principle of repetition. Historians who have worked with the records of the EIC Boards of Revenue would recall how the same passages can be seen reflected verbatim in reports, minutes, correspondence, and official publications. This process was central to the creation of a colonial apparatus of knowing where information about commerce, produce, and the people of India would achieve a neutral, objective status and be given the validity of the printed word in surveys, gazetteers, and statistics'. (Sen, *Empire of Free Trade*, pp. 9-10.)

[16] Guha, *History at the Margin of World-History*, pp. 44-45.

[17] Hutchins, pp. 10-11; Philippa Levine, 'Discipline and Pleasure: Response', *Victorian Studies*, 42 (2004), 319-325 (p. 324); Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination* (London: Allen Lane, 1972; rev. ed.. London: Verso, 1998), p. 9; David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Travel-writing, Journalism and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC, 1993), p. 98.

argues, much of the work of colonialist historiography was inseparable from its political valencies in Britain, and the projection of a European medievalism on pre-colonial India could be as much a commentary on Europe as on India.[18] In her study of later writing on India, Benita Parry advocates an alertness to the ways in which texts address and act upon their different audiences within the empire – representing the colony to the metropole, and instructing readers in the colony in how to create themselves as appropriately tractable subjects – and this is surely an observation that holds true for the procedures of colonial historiography.[19] This proceeds, in a sense, from a commonplace – the majority of writing on the colony must in some sense perform the work of justifying the continuance of the colonial project both to the colonisers and the colonised – but an understanding, however tentative, of the ways in which historical and other texts produce both subjectivities, often with an appearance of equal address but always with a radical differential of power, is essential in approaching all articulations of historical narrative, including archives.

When colonialist historiography was not positing an abject and uncultivated pre-colonial medievalism from which India had only been redeemed by the impeccable reason, technical advancement and evangelical zeal of the British, it drew sustenance from Jonesian philology in attributing what culture India was acknowledged to possess to classical origins. That strain of classicism, when attributed to the imperial project and the constitution of British constitutional politics and jurisprudence, could be used to claim precedent for empire, to bring the threatening alterity of encountered cultures under the purview of European

[18] See especially Majeed's discussion of Sir William Jones, which situates Jones' complex and often conflicted attitude to Hinduism, Brahmanical law and the Indian past within his relation to a revived European conservatism. (Majeed, pp. 11-46).

[19] See especially Parry's preface to the 1998 Verso edition of *Delusions and Discoveries*, which situates and interrogates her arguments within the context of later developments in postcolonial criticism. (Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, pp. 1-28).

narratives of origin and elite models of education, and to claim an understanding of Oriental culture superior to that of its practitioners: the Orient's past could be colonised not only to the pre-colonial era but as far back as the supposed origins of recorded history.[20]

The arrogation and mobilisation of scholarly activity necessitated that the archive move beyond its role as a repository for the Company's own documentation. In May 1798, after sustained pressure from Orme, Wilkins and others, the Court of Committees informed the Bengal Government that they intended to make - in England - a permanent repository for Oriental writings. By 1801 the India Museum and India Office Library were officially opened at Leadenhall Street. The Library (henceforth IOL) and Museum were both to have troubled histories, often considered surplus to requirements by the Proprietors, and essentially subsidiary to the Records as a whole: in Chapter 4 I discuss how they were essentially disposed of as quasi-independent institutions in the late nineteenth century, in accordance with the trends of the time; the IOL being formally subordinated to the IOR, and the Museum dispersed into the larger state-controlled museological complex.[21] In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the IOL enjoyed qualified success

[20] On the validation of Hinduism through classical analogy, particularly in Jones' work, see Teltscher, *India Inscribed* pp. 206-213. As will be seen, the classicising topos is one that recurs obsessively in Birdwood's writings, especially when dignified by the imprimatur of Sanskrit etymology and a rather fuzzily articulated Müllerian Aryanism.

[21] A.J. Arberry, *The India Office Library: A Historical Sketch* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1967); Ray Desmond, *The East India Museum 1801-1897* (London: HMSO, 1982); Foster, *The East India House*, pp. 148-151; C.S. Sutton, *A Guide to the India Office Library; With a Note on the India Office Records* (London: HMSO, 1967). There had in fact been a museum or *wunderkammer* at the East India House in the late seventeenth century: an account of the visit of an Italian nobleman in 1669 records a visit to an East India House "full of curious things, both animal and vegetable... kept here to gratify the curiosity of the public". (*Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Through England during the Reign of King Charles the Second* (1669) (London: J. Mawman, Ludgate Street, 1821), quoted in Anna Winterbottom, 'Company Culture: Information, Scholarship, and the East India Company Settlements 1660s-1720s' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2010), p. 22; see also Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 74).

in capturing much of the institutional fabric of British Orientalism. From its inception until 1836, Charles Wilkins fulfilled the duties of Librarian, and several major accessions were made. The first core of documents was the collection of manuscripts taken from the library of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam: further accessions included T. H. Colebrooke's private manuscript collection in 1819 (which at the time formed the nucleus of Sanskrit studies in Britain), purchases from the libraries of Richard Johnson, John Leyden and Colin MacKenzie, and the remainder of Arabic and Persian manuscripts from Tipu Sultan's library, which had not been included in the original accession.[22] While the Company thus acknowledged its pre-eminence over the scholarly field of British Orientalism, it began to systematize its methods of mobilising that knowledge in the work of colonial administration: 1800 saw the establishment of the College of Fort William in Calcutta, and 1806 that of Haileybury College in Hampshire. In these institutions, the field of knowledge enumerated by Company orientalism was formalized as curriculum for a manufactured European clerkly caste. On the foundation of the IOL and India Museum, Warren Hastings enthused in a letter to Wilkins about "a new system for ingrafting the knowledge of India on the commercial persuits [sic] of the Company"; the pedagogical program at Haileybury industrialized the effort to supplant native intermediaries in the trading cycle and usurp the positions of agency which munshis and pandits had occupied in the administrative structure.[23]

---

[22] Arberry, *The India Office Library*, pp. 19-20; Desmond, *The East India Museum*, pp. 6-7; Foster, *The East India House*, p. 148-150; Ray Desmond and Martin Moir, 'South Asian Materials in the India Office Library and Records' in *The British Library Occasional Papers 7, South Asian Studies*, ed. by A. Gaur (London, 1986); Thomas R. Trautmann, 'Wilkins, Sir Charles (*bap.* 1749, *d.* 1836)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29416> [accessed 12 May 2013].

[23] Bowen, *Business of Empire*, p. 177; Betty Joseph, *Reading the East India Company 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 14; on the use of Bengali as the language of administration in Bengal and its part in the manufacturing of the legitimacy of Company rule, see Henry Schwartz, 'Laissez-Faire Linguistics: Grammar and the

As Tony Ballantyne notes, these institutions were also a way of disciplining cross-cultural contact and knowledge exchange: the curriculum was to define and authorize the ways in which Company employees underwent these processes, shielding them both from the 'wrong kind' of contact, and from the perceived global contagion of insurrectionary thought unleashed by the French Revolution.[24]

Throughout this frenetic period, the scholarly and administrative spheres of activity were not always distinguishable: the majority of scholars were Company employees, or, like Orme, would be rewarded for their labours by being brought into the Company fold by employment (in Orme's case, to the tune of £400 per annum). By 1831 James Mill could (with only mild hyperbole) identify himself as "master" of Indian affairs whilst simultaneously authoring its history - and designing that history, in a casually appropriative move, as partly an intervention in specifically English debates concerning the philosophy of governance.[25] Indeed, the Company's endorsement and control of scholarly labour was an essential component of its self-presentation: a 1792 defence of monopoly finds a select committee of directors asserting that a broad range of scholarship could only be produced by a company that retained its exclusive hold on the East Indian trade.[26] The administrative archive struggled to cope with the massive influx of information following a constant stream of territorial acquisitions and the explosion of data resulting from the work of the Indian Surveys and hydrographical work; the Company's political turmoil caused further disruption and feverish activity.[27] As a tool of government and incipiently as a site which claimed mastery of the

Codes of Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 23 (1997), 509-535.

[24] Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 25-26.

[25] Majeed, pp. 123-150.

[26] H.V. Bowen, *Business of Empire*, pp. 176-177.

[27] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, pp. iii-vi.

knowledge of the empire in South Asia, the archive was becoming the subject of competing claims and counter-claims of efficiency versus inefficiency, comprehensiveness versus fragmentariness, and power versus impotence. The ways in which practices within the East India House developed to reflect and respond to this new reality, however, remained as contingent and situated as ever.

In 1786, Thomas Wilks of the Examiner's Office submitted a proposal for a programme of sustained research into the Company's older records, to be undertaken in concert with a streamlined ordering system for the records still being produced; he argued that "[a] regular and systematical investigation of the Company's records, as well ancient as modern, must be considered, by every intelligent person, as an object of the highest importance".[28] His scheme involved splitting the post of 'Register and Keeper of Records', which had existed since the formation of the Book Office in 1771, leaving the Keeper to run the Office and take on purely custodial duties, and the Register to undertake more detailed investigations, including listing and ordering the Company's earlier records.[29] To support his case, he reminded the Directors of the difficulty they had experienced when, in 1783, they decided to assemble all the grants under which they held their various territories, and found themselves defeated by the size and relative disorganization of the historical record. Wilks was duly appointed, and began to undertake serious research in the archives, assisted by his brother William; they began to attempt to impose some order on the books of consultations, letter-books and memoranda from early overseas factories, which resisted ordering until

[28] IOR E/1/78 (Letters Received: Miscellaneous) fols 416-421, quoted in Bowen, *Business of Empire*, p. 173.
[29] Moir, *General Guide*, p. 35.

collected as the "Factory Records" (Series G), studied in Chapter 5.[30] Neither Wilks was to live long: Thomas died in 1791, and William (who had secured the reversion of his brother's post) in 1795, the office passing to William Jackson; and for the next few years the post of Register existed in a slightly anomalous institutional position. It was never subordinated, as planned, to the office of the Examiner's branch, under the purview of which the Book Office had been formed, so whoever held the post was in effect in charge of a minor independent department, tasked with nothing except to continue to investigate and catalogue the early records.[31] Nor was it formally linked to the office of Historiographer, although the two offices must have come into constant contact. Orme undertook his own research - his initials and occasional marginalia can still be found in the records - whilst his successor John Bruce (1745-1826; Historiographer 1801-1817), although he had been allocated his own rooms in East India House, delegated the task to his clerks.[32] However, the problem of applying the historical records to the demands of contemporary government and policy formation had still clearly not been met, and in 1814, Thomas Fisher was appointed 'Searcher of the Records', with responsibility to undertake historical research. Amongst his larger projects, he scoured the archives to assemble materials for historical studies germane to the Company's

[30] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, pp. iii-iv. Foster also points out the internecine office politics and career frustration which had resulted in Wilks' rather ingenious invention of a position for himself. After the 1783 debacle, and given the historiographical activity the Company was encouraging and the general trend towards greater order in the archives, the historical records would doubtlessly have been subjected to sustained professional attention at some point during this period: but the manner in which it occurred was entirely due to the facticities of the institution and the personal agency, initiative and insight of the actors involved.

[31] Foster believed that it was during this period that the first collections towards the catalogues of Damaged Papers and Original Correspondence were 'probably' made. (Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. iv) There is no evidence for this, but Foster - who spent his life in the IOR, who did the majority of the work of reordering these catalogues themselves, and whose marks are on almost all of the documents involved - is more qualified to judge than anyone else.

[32] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records* (1919), pp. iv-v.

strategic aims.[33] One of these was 'A Statement of the Princes of the Eastern Seas', a lavish policy briefing on the history of the Company in the Indonesian archipelago, produced in 1818, which I study in greater depth in Chapter 5; another was a collection of papers for a similar history of Company involvement in China, which was never to be made into a cohesive work.[34]

The problem of the Register's ambiguous position was put to rest by Jackson's retirement, at which point the office was abolished, along with that of Historiographer, and both transferred to Charles Wilkins at the IOL. Peter Pratt was engaged as a clerk to work solely on the records, and worked in that capacity until 1835. How much of the groundwork had already been done by the Wilkses, Jackson, and Fisher is debatable, but it was Pratt who assembled the revised catalogue of Original Correspondence up to 1831, the Damaged Papers and Injured Papers catalogues up to 1832, and who handed over, on his retirement, the original Parchment Records catalogue. As I show in chapters 4 and 5, these were the catalogues that preceded, and in some ways determined, the work of Birdwood, Danvers and Foster in assembling the IOR in its present shape.

It could be argued that in 1836, when Wilkins died, the period of Company expansion and feverish scholarly activity - C.A. Bayly's "imperial meridian" - had definitively come to an end.[35] Between then and 1858, the historical archive remained largely inert: no new catalogues were made, and few works of history were produced. For the purposes of this thesis, this section of the archive's history ends here, to be resumed with the transfer of power in 1858 and the removal and partial destruction of the records detailed in Chapter 4. I show how the pre-1858

[33] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. vi.
[34] IOR G/12 vols 1-10.
[35] Christopher A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 235-247.

history of the archive bears an ambiguous and troubled relation to events after that date; but the Company's period of greatest ascendancy, as a formative period for the material and epistemic archive, as a focus of conflicted nostalgia, and as a historical sequence to be embedded within a particular narrative, looms large in what follows.

ii: 1875 – 1891: imperial contexts

As I argue in Chapter 4, the formation of the IOR proper began in 1875 with George Birdwood's announcement of the 'discovery' of a cache of documents, which he had catalogued as "the Parchment Records", and which became Series A: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties. The discovery was first announced in an anonymous notice in the *Athenaeum* of April 24th, 1875:

> An important discovery of old official documents has been made at the India Office. Whilst the Museum was being transferred to South Kensington, a large number of documents turned up,--we believe, in a box supposed to contain nothing, or simply rubbish--and these actually proved to be papers of considerable value relating to the affairs of the EIC in Hindustan between the reigns of James the First and George the Second. This is a wonderful windfall for the India Museum Authorities, and it is expected that the records discovered will throw much light upon the questionable transactions of the English in the East during a stormy period. It is supposed that amongst the documents, which are numerous, several important fac-similes, or even originals, of treaties with the principal Hindu and Mohammedan dynasties of the time will be found, which will afford a good deal of information about the historical entanglements of the period.[36]

These "old official documents" are the "relics" that Birdwood would later place in the "specially constructed locking skeleton cupboard" in the centre of his muniment,

[36] *The Athenaeum*, No. 2478, 24 April 1875, pp. 553-554, web resource "British Periodicals online", <http://www.proquest.co.uk/en-UK/catalogs/databases/detail/british_periodicals.shtml> [accessed 15 April 2013]; all subsequent references pp. 555-556.

and which would form the kernel of his accumulation and arrangement of the 'Old Records'.[37] While the author of the piece cannot be traced, this is a provocative opening shot in what would become a concerted effort – on Birdwood's part, at least – to manufacture an 'invented tradition' of imperial origins. Although the placing of the notice was Birdwood's doing, it seems unlikely to have been written by him. The description of the EIC's activities in the seventeenth century as "questionable" does not accord with the ideological investments he went on to espouse through those very documents, and the description of the find as a windfall to the India Museum authorities strikes a discordant note given his activities at the time: although he had recently been appointed Director of the Museum, his real task was to disperse all its artefacts of historical interest to outside institutions and repurpose the Museum purely as an archive of industrial productions. This notice, then, exposes some of the intra-institutional tensions which I describe more fully in Chapter 4, and gives a tantalizing impression of some of the resistances which Birdwood's campaign of narrativization would encounter.

If the item itself hints at some of the immediate institutional contexts of the find, the double-page spread on which it appears provides a fragmentary index of the wider cultural and political contexts in which the archive was to take shape. Elsewhere on the page, there is a notice of the departure of Sir Henry Bartle Frere from the Presidency of the Royal Asiatic Society in favour of Edward Colebrooke. Frere, it says, has been "obliged to resign from pressure of work" (he was at the time on the Council of India), but would remain on the RAS's committee.[38] Another item notes that "the annual 'Return' describing the progress and condition of the

[37] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. viii-ix.
[38] "Edward Colebrooke" here is Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke (1813-1890), at the time MP for North Lanarkshire, and son of the orientalist Prof. Thomas Henry Colebrooke.

British Museum has been issued"; it records a total number of visitors of around 602,000 as against 576,000 in the previous year, and notes that "[e]very department of the Museum has been enriched by additions". Excavations, it says, are occurring in a space adjacent to the Elgin Room, involving the instalment of some large boilers; "[i]t would be an unfortunate sequel to the extensive and long-continued drying operations which the pictures at South Kensington have, to their irreparable injury, undergone, if the British Museum authorities contrived to blow up the Elgin Marbles". A small paragraph notes the departure of Professor Aufrecht from the chair of Sanskrit at Edinburgh University and the likelihood of his being succeeded by Dr. Eggeling of the RAS. Further down the page, one William Hector, Sheriff Clerk of Renfrewshire, is noted to have in preparation a work of local archive history "which ought to be of considerable interest"; the title proposed is "Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire, illustrative of the Administration of Laws in the County, and Manners and Condition of the Inhabitants in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, with notes introductory and explanatory". "DR. HATELY WADDELL", it goes on, "has nearly ready a work, to be entitled 'Ossian and the Clyde,' in which an attempt is made to trace Ossianic influences in Ireland, Iceland, and the Orkney Islands". And: "The second part of the 'Mahavamsa', left unedited by Turnour, is now being printed at Columbo, under the auspices of the Ceylon government". The "Literary Gossip" column is followed by "Science": there is a round-up of news on "ARCTIC EXPLORATION" which notes new writings on the extent of Arctic sea-ice, the evidence collected by previous expeditions, and what conditions might be surmised to lie in wait for the current Expedition; the section ends by hinting that "'Open Polar Seas' have become the 'Mrs. Harris's' [*sic*] of Geography". Under the sub-heading "Asiatic", there is a report of an RAS meeting,

with Colebrooke now in the chair, in which the Rev. S. Beal read a paper which proposed "that the legends connected with Mt. Meru, found in the Chinese Buddhist books, betrayed a common origin with the Greek conception of the Olympus as the abode of their gods".

Within the necessarily limited context of a weekly metropolitan magazine, this four-page spread affords an eloquent impression of the imperial culture of the mid-1870s. This includes not only the determinant features of how that culture formulated its relationship with the past, but also how that relationship was mediated through institutions and individuals; how it related to the exercise of imperial power; how it reacted to territorial expansion, exploration, and science; and how it articulated itself through display and mass instruction.

The compact between colonial governance and scholarship is still intact, although Bartle Frere's resignation from the RAS is perhaps symptomatic of the decay of the institutional contexts which sustained high Company orientalism. A Haileybury graduate, adventurer, supremely competent frontier-state governor, decisive commander during the events of 1857, and later Governor of the Cape Colony during the disastrous period of 1876-1880, Frere's complex career represents in many ways a bridge between Company rule and late Victorian imperialism, and demonstrates how Lambert and Lester's concept of 'careering' can help to plot not only the transference of knowledge, power and sensibility between colonial locales, but also changes in colonial cultures and governmentality.[39] The RAS was struggling: its membership was declining, its funds were low, and since the early 1860s its ability to securely house its own library and collection had been

[39] John Benyon, 'Frere, Sir (Henry) Bartle Edward, first baronet (1815–1884)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10171> [Accessed online 22 March 2013].

under serious question.[40] In April 1875, Frere was preparing to stage-manage the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, set to begin in October; he had recently (1873-4) succeeded in suppressing the Zanzibar slave trade, and served (1874-5) as President of the RGS. His replacement by Colebrooke, whose major achievement in orientalist scholarship was a biography of his father, and who was involved not in imperial governance but in the British parliament, poses suggestive questions on the Society's fortunes and position in relation to the exercise of power.[41] However, the decline of the RAS, like the IO's dispersal of its museum, does not so much suggest a severing of imperial power from scholarship and antiquarianism as a reorganisation and indeed a consolidation of that relationship within new institutional and disciplinary formations.

Much of this change has been discussed using the language of professionalization. While this is a useful heuristic for understanding developments over the nineteenth century as a whole – the processes of institutional and disciplinary consolidation in scholarly activity, the centralisation of archives and collections, and the increasing formalism and systematization of bureaucratic structures – it is also deeply problematic. As Jim Endersby notes in his study of Joseph Hooker and Kew, it implies a certain teleology in which informal and 'amateur' ways of producing and circulating knowledge are superseded by formal procedures and exclusive structures. This neglects not only the fact that the production and circulation of knowledge continued to be determined by networks of intimacy, patronage and sociality, but also the fact that, at least in the area of botany which Endersby studies, the terms 'professional' and 'amateur' were not the

[40] *Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1823-1923*, ed. by F. E. Pargiter (London: printed for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1923) pp. 20-22.
[41] T. E. Colebrooke, *The Life of H.T. Colebrooke* (London: Trubner, 1873).

terms used by practitioners, who defined and policed scientific credit with reference to rather more subtle discourses of disciplinary commitment or "professedness", gentility, and rules of conduct and character: indeed, to rely on payment for one's labours remained something of a social embarrassment into the early twentieth century.[42] Moreover, as I note in my introduction, and as becomes clear in the study of Clements Markham in Chapter 6, distinctions between the professional and the amateur fail to reflect the richness and variety of individuals' breadth of activity over the course of their careers.

In government, however, professionalization holds more force as a tool for understanding development in the late nineteenth century. The Northcote-Trevelyan report of 1853 accelerated the transition to a fully professionalised civil service; the reorganisation of the Foreign and Diplomatic and Colonial Services between the 1850s and the 1880s saw a transition from hiring practices based on gentlemanly credit to those based on examination, and from a culture of work which was personalised and clubbable to one which was rationalised, systematised and bureaucratised.[43] In 1875, the IO's administrative structure and culture still preserved some of the features of the EIC establishment, of which the Council of India was perhaps the most visible manifestation; but these features and practices were in the process of being rendered increasingly vestigial by the changes outlined above, by the attrition of old Company servants and the culture they brought with

[42] Endersby, *Imperial Nature*, pp. 22-30.

[43] *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, ed. by Gillian Sutherland (London: Routledge, 1972). See especially Jennifer Hart, 'The Genesis of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report', in *Studies*, ed. by Sutherland, pp. 63-81; R. C. Snelling and T. J. Barron, 'The Colonial Office and its Permanent Officials 1801-1914', in *Studies*, ed. by Sutherland, pp. 139-166; and Valerie Cromwell and Zara S. Steiner, 'The Foreign Office before 1914: A Study in Resistance', in *Studies*, ed. by Sutherland, pp. 167-194.

them, by the change in institutional and architectural contexts, and by the direction of policy.[44]

The IO, after being nominally established in the East India House on Leadenhall Street in 1858, had immediately undergone a protracted removal to the Westminster Palace Hotel on Victoria Street. It was to stay there until the opening of George William Scott's new India Office building in 1867. This series of moves, their disruptive effect, and their mobilization as trauma within the certain narratives of the archive is dealt with in Chapter 3; although the EIC's long-established geography of the workplace was necessarily abolished, the actual functioning of the IO during this time, although in a state of relative organisational flux, does not seem to have been greatly affected by its changes in premises. After the relatively *laissez-faire* undersecretaryships of Sir George Russell Clark (1858-1860) and Herman Merivale (1860-1874), the accession of Sir Louis Mallet to the role in 1874 marked a distinct shift towards efficiency, structural rigour and professionalism which would be further consolidated from 1883 by his successor Sir Arthur Godley.[45] Arnold Kaminsky and Donovan Williams, in their histories of the IO between 1858 and 1910, argue that the Council of India, on which Frere sat, was by the 1870s beginning to be sidelined in terms of actual power; that it had become something of a rubber-stamp committee for ratifying the decisions of a power structure that was increasingly centred around the Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for India, and was increasingly viewed by many reformers and civil servants as an

[44] Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence*, pp. 87-88; Kaminsky, *The India Office 1880-1910*, pp. 11-82; Williams, 'The Formation of Policy in the India Office, 1858-1869: A Study in the Tyranny of the Past', *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume (1973), 873-892; Williams, *The India Office 1858-1869* (Hoshiapur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1983), pp. 102-104, pp. 472-474.

[45] Kaminsky, pp. 63-88.

anachronism, a kind of vestigial organisational remnant of the old Court of Directors.[46]

This increasing professionalisation and modernisation, along with a natural attrition of staff who had worked for the EIC, and an influx of new civil servants who did not necessarily have "country experience", had created by the mid-seventies something of a sub-culture of Company nostalgia amongst the old Company men, which partook of more general political currents of unease surrounding imperial policy and ideology. This culture may have been at its height of intensity (if not of popularity) around 1875, as prominent old Company hands such as Sir John Kaye reached the ends of their careers, and as the IO began to finalise the effective severing of its official links to the scholarly heritage of the EIC by dissociating itself from the RAS and dispersing the India Museum.[47]

The wider context of imperial politics and ideology was one of rapid change, conflict and anxiety, and the consolidation of new discourses of imperial mission. The 1860s to 1880s also saw increasing agitation for imperial federation. Although the Imperial Federation League itself was not formed until 1884 – a year after the publication of Seeley's *Expansion of England* – the late 1860s onwards saw increasing efforts in the public sphere to promote a unified empire: 1868 saw the foundation of the Royal Colonial Society and the publication of Charles Dilke's

[46] Kaminsky, pp. 35-56, pp. 194-195; Donovan Williams, *The India Office 1858-1869*, p. 96, p. 493. Kaminsky argues strenuously for Godley's personal centrality to this process: while Godley arguably personified the new administrative style in colonial affairs, Kaminsky may overstate the case and indeed Godley's agency in a larger cultural shift. Kaminsky's book is, indeed, written partly as a professional biography of Godley, so this problem of agency may well reflect biography's inherent tendency, which I discuss in my introduction, to efface the structural at the expense of the individual.

[47] As Ray Desmond's history of the Museum notes, however, this was not an inevitable process: there were moments in the late 1870s at which the IO nearly decided not to disperse its collections, and to work in concert (up to a carefully specified point) with the RAS. (Desmond, *The East India Museum*, pp. 145-154.) Similarly, Kaminsky notes that even though the Council of India was effectively neutered under Godley's rule, there were instances of resistance, and it did continue to occupy a place in the policy-making process. (Kaminsky, pp. 35-62).

Greater Britain; in 1871 Disraeli, in opposition, took up the cause of Imperial preference as an alternative to hegemonic free-trade liberalism. Conditioned economically by a reaction against Manchester School Free trade liberalism and anxiety at the emergent commercial spheres of influence of a newly unified Germany, the United States, and Japan, federationism became implicated with other ideological streams: the prospect of including the United States in a federation explicitly based upon confessional, linguistic and racial identity, drew on the emergent discourses of eugenics and racial hierarchy; the implicit possibility of a federation as a partnership amongst equals attracted some internationalist socialists; and it accorded well with the trend towards large-scale territorial annexation which spurred, and was accelerated by, the Berlin Conference.[48] Such a project, however nebulously, also required the creation of new rituals, titles, historical justifications, and all the appurtenances of invented tradition: Disraeli's invitation to Queen Victoria to assume the title of Empress of India in 1877 perhaps indicates the direction of that process towards producing the "Jingo kitsch"[49] of the late nineteenth century's baroque cultural expression of imperialism.[50]

In this rapidly changing new imperial dispensation, the past was still a major site for the production of ideology. In some cases this engagement followed old scripts of Company orientalism and historiography. The Jonesian philological

[48] For an impression of the complex cultural affiliations of the imperial federation movement, see Felix Driver, 'In Search of the Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire', *History Workshop Journal*, 69 (2010), 146-157.

[49] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 133-145.

[50] For imperial reformulations of royal spectacle and ritual, see Bernard Cohn and David Cannadine's essays in *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm and Ranger pp. 165-210; David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition", *c*.1820-1977', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm and Ranger, pp. 101-164).

revolution, comparative linguistics, classical education and Romantic nationalism had already made the epic a highly charged site of national and racial identity formation, and this can be glimpsed in Dr. Hately Waddell's work on "Ossianic Influences".[51] Similarly, the Revd. Beal's talk on the conflation of Chinese/Tibetan and Greek myth reflects the fact that the discourses of syncretic cultural studies still drew much of their power to differentiate and rank national and racial identities from their claims to universality of origins; and the project of classicising the Orient was central both to rendering it as a stable, unchanging and essentially ahistorical field for redemptive colonial action, and to assimilating its exoticism into the neutralising sphere of a comfortably familiar European idiom.[52] The 1870s saw the consolidation of racial and genetic theories of human development, a scholarly field which owed heavy debts to Jonesian philology and the ethnographic researches of Company orientalism. As Tony Ballantyne has shown, the discourse of high imperial racialism and the cult of Aryan origins was wonderfully adaptable in assimilating and synthesizing pre-existing scholarship and science, in underwriting the exercise of imperial power, and in defining new ethnic and cultural bases for conceptualising the nation: notably, Max Müller had recently brought out (in 1874) the final volume of his translation of the *Veda*s, a project originally sponsored by the EIC and undertaken with the help of the IOL's collections, and central to the

[51] See *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm and Ranger, Introduction, pp. 6-8; and Simon Dentith, *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 65-83, pp. 175-195. Dentith traces how the political discourses of nationalist imperialism found succour in the search for national epics, and how the tropology of the epic allowed these discourses to simultaneously emphasize the nation/empire's classical precedents and particularize it as the expression of a unique racial, cultural and linguistic heritage. See also the work of Katie Trumpener in *Bardic Nationalism*, which undertakes a more theoretical interrogation of the problematic link between nationalism and antiquarianism. (Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: the Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 22).

[52] See especially Majeed, pp. 14-16; Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, pp. 27-32, p. 52.

codification in Europe of Aryan racial theory.[53] In a sense, the ways in which the intellectual revolutions enabled by Company colonialism in India were to be used to underwrite the baroque racialism which accompanied European activities in Africa from the 1880s onwards provides a grim textbook example of the transfer and repurposing of imperial knowledge between contexts widely distant from each other.[54]

If the past was being mined for mythical form and teleological narrative, the materials of the past were being subjected to increasingly rigorous disciplinary procedures. While the collection and study of historical documentation was, as before, still practised by networks of learned societies and provincial amateurs – as demonstrated by Hector's "Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire" – it had also become a centralized, metropolitan and state-funded activity on a large scale. The Public Records Office (henceforth PRO) had been created in 1838, relatively late in the European trend for creating a central state archive.[55] As Benedict Anderson and Alain Desroisières argue, the creation of centralised state archives and statistical bureaux were defining events in the creation of the modern bureaucratic state, its establishment as the major determining force in the individual lives, and its capture of the means of producing and defining national identities. As I mention in my introduction, there may have been little sense by 1875 that the 'archivist' had yet become a professional identification, but the discourses and practices of diplomatics, bureaucracy and statistics were arguably beginning to converge towards the professional identity and disciplinization articulated in Muller, Feith and Fruin's manual of 1898.[56] Meanwhile, the codification of history

[53] Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, pp. 5-6, pp. 41-44.
[54] Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*; Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 147-155.
[55] Levine, *Amateur and Professional*, pp. 2-3.
[56] Ketelaar, *The Archival Image*, pp. 43-66.

as a discipline, including the formalization of Rankean procedures disciplined archival research, placed historical documents at the centre of the processes by which those national identities (which were also, of course, imperial identities) could be provided with a narrative.[57]

The invention of tradition, as proposed by Hobsbawm and Ranger, was a major vehicle for these articulations. By the 1870s, traditions were being invented all over the world at an astonishing pace; and their most spectacular manifestations often had to do with the formation of state and national identities. This was hardly new; by the early nineteenth century, the manipulation of public ceremony and spectacle had been acknowledged specifically as an instrument of power in the Indian colonial context, as well as in a domestic sphere where government policy was increasingly determined by a fear of political radicalism.[58] Hobsbawm and Ranger's specific intervention, however, is to argue that the rise of the state as an active agent in the lives of individuals necessitated the creation of new mechanisms of subject-formation and self-identification, and also to suggest – particularly in Hobsbawm's concluding essay – a baroque period for the fabrication of such "mass-produced traditions" and "civic religion", centring around the period 1870 – 1914.[59] Hence the 'Statuomania' of Third Republic France, the instantiation of ritualised flag-worship in American schools in the 1880s, and the first Royal Jubilee in 1887.[60] In India, as in the Empire at large, new constitutional configurations of

[57] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 163-186; Alain Desroisières, *The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning*, trans. by Camille Naish (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 147-177; Eskildsen, 'Leopold Ranke's Archival Turn'; Philippa Levine, 'History in the Archives: The Public Record Office and its Staff, 1838-1886', *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986), 20-41.
[58] Majeed, pp. 5-6.
[59] Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm and Ranger, pp. 263-308.
[60] Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions', pp. 271-272, pp. 279-282.

power required, or were seen to require, new rituals and arcana: Bernard Cohn has described the carefully-calibrated invention of the Royal Durbar, by which 'traditional' forms were appropriated and re-purposed as elements (often denatured) of a theatrical affirmation of colonial authority.[61] This is, in fact, exactly the public spectacle to which Bartle Frere was lending his logistical talents in 1875, while helping to organise the visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Commemorative occasions and anniversaries were convenient for articulating new forms of identity rooted in a particular, and often carefully exclusive, conception of the past. The invention of Bastille Day, in Hobsbawm's account, was also the codification of a bourgeois-socialist national republicanism based upon a largely anti-Jacobin narrative of the Revolution,[62] while the centennial of American independence in 1876 was highly successful in articulating a commercial ideology (and practice) which accorded with the United States' post civil war manufacturing boom and growing international confidence.[63] By the late 1870s plans were already being made for the Grand Columbian World's Fair of 1893, at which the quatrocentennial of the 'discovery' of the Americas would be celebrated by an emergent imperial power pursuing at that moment an aggressive policy of expansionism in the Caribbean; in contrast, Michel-Rolphe Trouillot reads the Spanish quatrocentennial of 1892 as a carefully stage-managed and extravagantly performative attempt to recapture a narrative of imperial pre-eminence in a period of national anxiety and peripheral threat.[64]

---

[61] Bernard Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm and Ranger pp. 165-210.

[62] Trouillot, p. 124.

[63] Trouillot, p. 128-129; for a history of the Centennial which locates it within the theoretical framework of the exhibitionary complex, see Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

[64] Trouillot, pp. 119-135.

The work of scholars, curators and archivists was intrinsic to many of these projects; not only did commemorative spectacle and cultural engineering require the sanction of historical scholarship to underwrite its implicit and explicit claims, but, to a greater or lesser extent according to the occasion, there was often a mobility of personnel and communities of interest between the academy, learned societies, archives, museums, civic institutions and governmental structures. Trouillot notes the Spanish monarchy's savvy choice of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo to devise its quatrocentennial celebrations, and his canny use of them for academic ends, including the founding of a journal that is still publishing.[65] As will become clear, this imbrication of intellectual and political authority is dramatically present in the creation of the IOR, as it is in the biographies of the men involved and, indeed, in the space of the archive itself.

The vogue for holidays and commemorations was not restricted to the state, but could be used for oppositional purposes and to contest hegemony. Hobsbawm notes May Day and the Durham Miners' Gala as products of the same period of frenetic tradition-making, and the normalisation of the use of anniversaries for purposes of partisanship, sectarianism and social advocacy can be dated to the same period: Birdwood himself is credited with devising 'Primrose Day' in honour of Disraeli.[66] Likewise, the fabrication, management and curation of historical narrative – through curatorial and archival strategies, through scholarly societies, through historiography and through the editing and publication of historical materials – was an activity which rapidly became democratised. For example, Elisabeth Kaplan has described the formation of the Jewish Historical Society of

[65] Trouillot, pp. 125-127.

[66] Valentine Chirol, 'Birdwood, Sir George Christopher Molesworth (1832–1917)', rev. Katherine Prior, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31896> [accessed 13 February 2013];

New York in the late 1880s, spurred by a resurgence of popular anti-semitism and a desire, on behalf of a particular community of largely bourgeois Jews, to articulate a hybrid identity which would allow them to claim an ideological stake in the culture and civic life of the United States.[67] Through the Society's accession records, Kaplan traces how the acquisitions policy favoured the construction of a narrative which largely ignored the recently-arrived East European Jews whose mass immigration had provoked the re-emergence of anti-semitic agitation; which elided sectarian differences, socialism, Zionism and anarchism; which emphasized the long standing of Jewish individuals and communities in America; and which attempted to inscribe Jewish presence in pre-existing foundational myths. Moreover, Kaplan argues, the very act of forming the society, and of engaging in this work, was itself a claim to fully-realised citizenship: in using these techniques to articulate a distinct (and carefully-calibrated) identity, the Society's membership was engaging in a quintessentially American and assimilationist activity.[68] Cases such as this draw attention to the intricacy and specificity with which historical narratives and identities could be manufactured through the canny and sensitive exercise of historical disciplinarity and archival accumulation: the choice of materials for an apparently reclusive archive or collection, as much as the manufacture of public spectacle or commemoration, could instrumentalise the past as an assertion of identity, sentiment and politics.[69]

---

[67] Kaplan, Elisabeth, 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity', *American Archivist*, 63 (2000), 126-151.

[68] Kaplan, 'We Are What We Collect', pp. 139-141; pp. 136-138.

[69] For similar examples, see Laura Mayhall, 'Creating the "Suffragette Spirit": British Feminism and the Historical Imagination', in *Archive Stories*, ed. by Burton, pp. 232-250; and John Randolph, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive', in *Archive Stories*, ed. by Burton, pp. 209-231.

The *Athenaeum* item about the British Museum's return of visitors indicates how centralised, professionalised and aggregative complexes of collection, classification and display were supplanting the more dispersed and less formal networks of learned amateur societies. Along with state archives, libraries and statistical repositories, what has been termed variously the museological or exhibitionary complex was following overarching trends of centralisation and increasing taxonomic rigour. Museums began to be fewer, larger, more comprehensive, and more subject to the ordering logics of the current ideologies and discourses of knowledge: the accumulation of private collections and their acquisition by regional literary and philosophical societies, the development of specialized architectures and strategies of display, and the consolidation of dedicated museums as an index of civic, national and imperial pride and order. Collections began to expand, not only in reflecting a huge increase in the amount of material flowing in from the imperial periphery and beyond, but also from absorbing smaller and more scattered collections such as that of the India Museum; within England, private collections were progressively acquired and merged, often by literary and philosophical societies, and outside of the metropolis the possession of a museum became an index of civic pride.[70] Meanwhile, the building and expansion of large spaces of storage and display in Bloomsbury and South Kensington struggled to keep pace either with the growth of collections or with museums' rising popularity as a form of mass diversion and instruction. The acid comment about blowing up the Elgin Marbles testifies both to the feverish growth of the exhibitionary complex as an industry (with its concomitant effects upon the

[70] David K. Van Keuren, 'Museums and Ideology: August Pitt-Rivers, Anthropological Museums, and Social Change in Later Victorian Britain', in *Energy and Entropy: Science and Culture in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Patrick Brantlinger (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) pp. 270-288 (pp. 270-271).

urban landscape), and the vituperative force of the debates which these developments engendered: about architecture, about populism and popular instruction, about the capture and codification of scholarly activity by increasingly rigorous disciplines, about taxonomies and epistemological frameworks, and about the purposes and meanings of the museums and exhibitionary spaces themselves.

The term "exhibitionary complex" was first coined by Tony Bennett, and has become a canonical expression and concept in the study of imperial museum culture in much the same way that Richards' "imperial archive" has for almost all discussions of the politics of nineteenth-century imperial knowledge.[71] Like Richards' formulation of the imperial archive, the concept of the exhibitionary complex is a useful critical tool as an articulation of a fantasy, but difficult to apply consistently to specific instances. As Lara Kriegel has argued, it derives from Foucault (or from readings of Foucault) a hegemonic conception of power and governmentality which can efface local sites of resistance and agency, and tends to impose an unrepresentative homogeneity on the field it attempts to survey.[72] Based on a study of the South Kensington museum complex, Bennett's essay envisages

[71] Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations*, 4 (1988), 73-102; Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995). Amongst relatively recent elaborations of the concept, Peter H. Hoffenburg has studied the curatorial and display strategies of national exhibitions, with special focus on industrial and economic displays; Annie Coombes' classic study of the collection and display of West African artefacts emphasizes the use of ethnographic and racial discourse in interpreting subject populations to English audiences; and T. J. Barringer returns to the South Kensington Museum to undertake a sober and anthropologically-inflected trial of Bennett and Richards in outlining that institution's relation to the ideologies of empire. (Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Peter H. Hoffenburg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); T. J. Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project' in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, ed. by T. J. Barringer and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 11-27.)

[72] Lara Kriegel, 'After the Exhibitionary Complex: Museum Histories and the Future of the Victorian Past', *Victorian Studies*, 48 (2006), 681-704; see also Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (London: Athlone, 1999), pp. 8-10, pp. 14-32.

the museum as a space of mass display and instruction, whose pedagogy is directed entirely towards the disciplining of the subject.[73] This rather effaces, or relegates to pre-history, the long and rather more festive genealogy of urban mass display; it also, more importantly, occludes the institutional and ideological contests occurring within the knowledge establishment charged with building and stocking the emergent museological complex, including their dramatically varying attitudes to the very concept of mass admission.[74] Carla Yanni's study of the architecture of display emphasises how debates over setting and architectonics were also debates about access, purpose, narrative and intent; her account of the debates between Richard Owen and T.H. Huxley over the design of the Natural History Museum emphasizes the extent to which that institution's final form was a mediated compromise which fell short of Owen's visionary intent and Huxley's scientific exclusivity.[75] Nonetheless, the practice of representing the Empire through exhibitionary and museological spaces was one which consistently produced claims to comprehensiveness and mastery, through visual, architectural and paratextual structures, through the taxonomic arrangement and strategies of display. In some senses, as Alex Bremner notes, it was a way of making the imperial archive visible, subjecting the materials of history both human and natural to the authority of British rule; and that history, too, could be contested: Owen and Huxley's conflict over the Natural History Museum, for example, was partly informed by fundamental disagreements over the chronology of natural history.[76] David van Keuren notes in

[73] Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', pp. 99-100.

[74] For an overview of the nineteenth-century culture of display preceding the age of the mass exhibition and the 'museological complex' proper, see Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

[75] Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (London: Athlone, 1999), pp. 111-146.

[76] Alex Bremner, '"Some Imperial Institute": Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887-93', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62 (2003), 50-73 (pp. 54-56).

his study of William Pitt Rivers' curatorial rhetorics that those human histories could include the history-in-the-present of evolutionary ethnography: the imperial subject who, because stateless, was to be afforded no history, could be presented before the ethnographic gaze as essentially prehistoric, an expression of an earlier stage of human development.[77]

At the same time, the practices of exploration and navigation were becoming increasingly well-funded, militarised and technologised.[78] The "current Expedition" referred to in the *Athenaeum* is that of Captain Nares in 1875-6, an expedition which was lavishly funded by the Admiralty and organised with the consultation of the RGS, supplied with complex and extensive naval assistance, and dedicated to the systematic collection of scientific, navigational, geodetic and biological information. (It was, however, largely unsuccessful in terms of the symbolic gains which were so important to polar exploration as an expression of national predominance.)[79] Clements Markham was one of its main organisers within the RGS. His frequent absences from the IO whilst organising the expedition, and his insistence on accompanying the fleet as far as Greenland and thus overstaying his leave from the IO by a month, handed Louis Mallet the excuse he had long been looking for to dismiss him.[80] Markham's interest in polar exploration would see him deeply involved in the late imperial culture of exploration, and he was the motivating force behind Robert Falcon Scott's career.[81] As is demonstrated in Chapter 6, Markham was an evangelist for the use of

---

[77] Bremner, p. 55; Van Keuren, 'Museums and Ideology', pp. 270-276.
[78] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 1-49.
[79] Fergus Fleming, *Barrow's Boys* (London: Granta, 1998); John Edwards Caswell, 'The RGS and the British Arctic Expedition, 1875-76', *Geographical Journal*, 143 (1977), 200-210.
[80] Williams, *The India Office 1858-1869*, p. 103.
[81] Elizabeth Baigent, 'Markham, Sir Clements Robert (1830–1916)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34880> [accessed 30 May 2012].

historical documents in polar exploration; and amongst the many innovations of Nares' expedition, Markham had had a series of books specially made for the ship's library: compact shipboard editions of Hakluyt Society texts featuring the journals of early modern navigators gleaned from the early records of the East India Company.[82] In Markham's hands, the documents of early voyagers could partake as much of modern imperial geography as of foundational national epic. It is this imperial geography, and its own claims to a panoptical archive, which I study in Chapter 6.

This, then, is the broad context in which the IOR began to take shape, beginning with the "box supposed to contain nothing". In the following chapter, I trace how the contents of this box became the foundation of George Birdwood's rearrangement of the material studied in this thesis.

[82] In fact Markham, and after him his cousin, biographer and fellow Hakluyt Society editor Albert Hastings Markham (1841-1819), saw to it that not only Nares' expedition but other ships of the Royal Navy were supplied with Hakluyt Society volumes. Captain Nares took a "complete set" of the Society's publications to his "furthest North" point of 82 degrees latitude. Captain Scott set out for Antarctica with the Society's editions of *The Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento* and the *Voyages of Baffin*. (Dorothy Middleton, 'The Early History of the Hakluyt Society 1847-1923', *The Geographical Journal*, 152 (1986), 217-224 (p. 220).)

Chapter 4.

"The centre of the Muniment": the India Office from 1875 and the creation of the Parchment Records

The transformation of the accumulated records of the EIC into the IOR proper began in the mid-1870s. This was the moment at which the records began to be subjected to the archival regime of Birdwood and his staff; and the discovery of the cache of documents announced in the *Athenaeum* in the previous chapter marks the beginning of this process.

Known as the Parchment Records, these would become the central accession of IOR series A: Statues, Treaties and Charters. This chapter traces how Birdwood, his colleagues and employees mobilised the documents themselves as privileged records of a moment of imperial inception; and how Birdwood, especially, fashioned the event of their recovery into an originary moment for the IOR itself. In particular, the writings and debates which surround Series A, both at the time of its creation and throughout the period of this study, expose the reverential aspects of the antiquarian practices with which the IOR was begun. Reactivated as relics or totems which give access to a semi-mythical past and an ethos of bourgeois mercantilism and emergent empire (never clearly defined) from which, it is implied, the current administration has fallen away, these records bore the full force of their archivists' historiographical and political preoccupations. The conflicts which arose over formulating a strategy for their preservation and display cast light on the changing institutional and ideological world of the IO during the mid-1870s, as well as on the changes occurring in how the State organised and related to the academic, scientific, archival and museological complexes.

i: "The alleged discoveries at the India Office"

In the autumn of 1874, in the process of moving out of his offices in the IO upon retirement, Sir John Kaye relinquished "a large cylindrical black box"[1] containing a number of old documents. This was passed on to Dr. George Birdwood, who had, at the beginning of November, been nominated the new Head of the India Museum and Library, and assistant to the Special Reporter on the Products of India, working in the Statistics and Commerce department.[2] That there should have a been such a chest lying uninvestigated in Kaye's office is not out of character: Kaye was an eccentric and curmudgeonly character, a "mighty anachronism" and a vocal centre of resistance to the drive towards efficiency toward and professionalisation in the IO that occurred under Louis Mallet's Permanent Undersecretaryship.[3] He had his office space, incursions into which he had jealously protested against, was known amongst IO staff as a place in which official documentation could disappear without trace.[4] Nothing was heard of the box in IO records or in the press for several months, but Birdwood was clearly hard at work. He engaged Noel Sainsbury of the PRO to catalogue the contents, and by April of 1875 he was ready to reveal what he had found, in a manner whose characteristic flamboyance demonstrated a talent for canny stage-management and the strategic use of drama in attracting institutional interest and momentum.

Birdwood's first step was to place the notice in the *Athenaeum*. At the same

---

[1] Sir John Kaye to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 27, 1875, p. 5.
[2] Ray Desmond, *The India Museum*, p. 140. As Desmond shows, Birdwood was appointed to Head of the Museum largely in order to preside over its destruction and dispersal.
[3] Williams, *The India Office*, pp. 84-88, pp. 93-96.
[4] Williams, *The India Office*, pp. 74-76, pp. 95-96.

time, he submitted a memorandum to the Council of India through the Statistics and Commerce Committee. The text is written up in fair and, Birdwood's own, on a minute sheet of the Statistics and Commerce Department. (See Appendix B, pp. 335-339). As the detail below shows, the schedule table at the top of fol.1[r] marks the memorandum's passage over various desks.

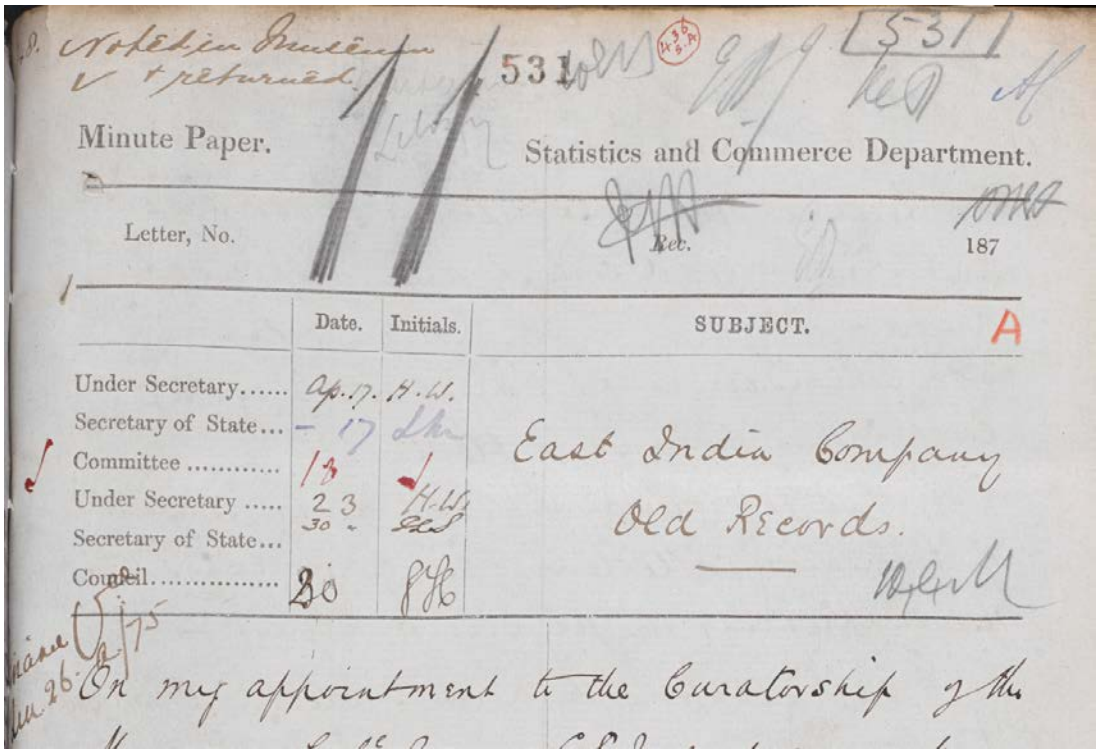


Fig. 5 IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 1[r] (detail)

It is dated as having been received on April 17th by Sir Henry Waterfield, then Under-Secretary for the Statistics and Commerce Department;[5] noted by Louis Mallet, C.B., then permanent Under-Secretary to the Office as a whole, on the same date; passed by

[5] Waterfield had held the post of Permanent Under-Secretary to the Statistics and Commerce Department since its creation in the spring of 1874, with Charles Prinsep as his assistant. The Department was created out of the old Record and Statistical Department upon the retirement of Marmaduke Hornidge. (Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, introduction, pp. vii-viii).

the Statistics and Commerce Committee on the 18th; and having passed that, referred again to Henry Waterfield and attended to by Council on the 30th.[6] This is all broadly in accordance with IO protocol.[7]

Birdwood begins:

> On my appointment to the Curatorship of the Museum, Col. Burne C.S.J. sent me a box which he had received from Sir John Kaye on the retirement of the latter from office, with the statement that it had been lying in his room from beyond the memory of any one in the Political Department, and was said to contain very important documents. I found in it 51 tally-sticks; -- a bag marked "fifteen pagodas", which on being opened, I found to contain two lumps of iron; -- and forty parchments all mixed together in the greatest confusion.[8]

This is not so much a bureaucratic communication as a carefully-structured narrative and rhetorical performance. This opening paragraph skilfully dramatizes a moment of archival recovery, according Birdwood, as discoverer and witness, a central position in that moment. Many of the tropes are familiar from contemporary antiquarian and historiographical writing. The vague archaism and invocation of immeasurable historical time - if only in contrast to the claims of modern bureaucracy – is, as I will demonstrate, a recurrent image, as is the alertness to bathetic absurdity in archival

---

[6] *The India List, Civil and Military,* July 1875 (London: W.H Allen, 1875), pp. v-vi.

[7] Martin Moir, *General Guide*, pp. 60-124. Moir's chapter on the internal organisation of the IO and the Burma Office provides the best current account of what the protocols were and how closely practice followed them at different times. Also see Accountant General's Miscellaneous Establishment papers, IOR L/AG/30/20, fols 38-39, which comprises Charles Woods' 'Directions for the Transaction of Business in the India Office' of Nov 17th 1859, and Sir John Kaye's response in Confidential Letter Book, Political and Secret Misc Records, IOR L/P&S/20, Temp No. 244, p. 84. The IO's internal operations were in a state of almost constant flux between Wood's 'Directions' and the relatively settled regime of Arthur Godley from 1883, perhaps more in the mid-1870s than at any other time; this memorandum, however, has been processed according to Wood's protocol, with an orderliness that belies its somewhat chaotic context and aftermath. Here as elsewhere, when one attempts to reconstruct this institutional flux through close documentary analysis, as Moir to some extent does, it tends to undermine the broader narratives I invoke here by which work in the IO became generally more systematised and professionalised between 1867 and 1883.

[8] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 2r. Memorandum of Statistics and Commerce Committee, submitted 17 April 1875. Except where indicated, quotations are from this item.

research encapsulated in those two lumps of iron and their contrast with the promised specie. Most importantly, however, there is the implicit claim of having rescued valuable, indeed sacred, documents from chaos: the moment of archival recovery is also one of the rediscovery of an inheritance.

The memo was clearly intended to outlive its apparent bureaucratic functionality, and the fact that it did so to an uncommon degree testifies to the success of Birdwood's lobbying strategy. Its text is reproduced in appendices in the 1889 *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, the 1891 "reprint" (in fact a substantially revised addition with considerable new material), and in the 1919 *Guide to the India Office Records* by Birdwood's protege William Foster, a book which would serve as the standard general reference work until after 1947.[9] The 1891 reprint also contains the evocation of the finished "muniment" which I quote in my introduction: these are to become the Parchment Records that are to be placed in the muniment's centre, and it is characteristic of Birdwood to wish to show, in what he clearly considered the summation of his work in the IOR, how closely the end of his narrative follows the beginning. That someone - not necessarily Birdwood, although it is hard to imagine who else - cared deeply how the document's text was to be presented in the 1891 edition is attested to by the existence of a draft copy in which minor emendations are made. The changes are entirely cosmetic, dealing only with niceties of language, syntax and tone, and they are enforced from the 1891 reprint onwards.[10]

---

[9] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1889), pp. 140-142; Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records*, (1891) pp. 263-273; Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, pp. 79-81.

[10] IOR H/710, fols 13^{r} - 16^{v}. The cache of papers of which this volume was made up in 1926 was William Foster's. Foster had begun work in the IO in 1882, and by the late 1880s had become established as Birdwood's protege and archival workhorse. It remains possible that the changes were deputed to him, but unlikely: Birdwood was a precious prose stylist, and unlikely to delegate such a task.

The memo goes on to enumerate some of the documents, calling attention particularly to one privileged document – the Roll of Subscribers to Joint Stock of 1698 – and then makes some requests: for remuneration for Sainsbury, and for permission to publicize the findings further in a paper for the Royal Society of Literature (henceforth RSL).[11] It ends by making a slightly eccentric plea for the roll of subscribers to be enshrined at a centre of imperial power:

> I would also venture to suggest that the parchments should be carefully restored, and exhibited in this Office. I would not have them sent to the Museums. They are not idle curiosities [fol. 4^{v}] to be toyed about in museums, but State Archives which should be reverently kept in the India Office itself: and after restoration should be rolled up, and put away in a glass cabinet in the Council Room. The roll of the original Subscribers of the £2,000,000 stock which contains the names of nearly the whole of the well to-do middle class people of England a century ago, should never again pass out of sight.[12]

By situating the expanded series (which by this date consisted of 114 documents) both figuratively and physically at "the centre of the muniment", Birdwood would inscribe them as the core accessions around which the archive itself could be constructed, both as a museological collection and as a sacral space of access to an imperial teleology. This positioning itself evokes a concatenation of claims: tropes of the originary and inceptional, of recovery and renaissance, of the antiquarian as granting privileged access to the past, and of a reverential historiography which creates a unitary narrative of imperial origins to which the conflicted, ambivalent and uncertain imperial present can appeal. Birdwood's self-defined role in this, as his minute suggests – and as he suggests repeatedly in his writings about his work and antiquarianism in

[11] The subscription roll is now preserved as shelfmark IOR A/1/53.
[12] IOR L/E/53, item 531, fol. 4^{r}.

general - is as the agent of a dramatic recovery, a rescue from oblivion. The parchment box has "been lying in [Sir John Kaye's room] from beyond the memory of any one in the Political Department, and was said to contain very important documents"; the documents are "all mixed together in the greatest confusion"[13]. The motif, here as elsewhere, is of archival chaos redeemed by enlightened order; and, as usual, it is partly true. Birdwood's suggestions, unsurprisingly, would arouse resistance and controversy within the IO; but before this could even occur, his implicit narrative of his own agency in a moment of unambiguous historical recovery would be challenged. His actions began a complex conflict in the IO in which much was at stake: nostalgia and institutional loyalty to the Company and its ways of doing business; the status of history in the bureaucratized and bureaucratizing imperial present; the IO's relation as a whole, in terms of both culture and policy, to the material traces of its history; and, not least, the personal and professional integrity of the actors involved.

The first response to Birdwood appeared before the memorandum had even been ratified by the Council. On April 24th, the *Pall Mall Gazette* published a letter from Sir John Kaye (reproduced in full in Appendix B, p. 340), entitled "The alleged discoveries at the India Office" and written in response to the *Athenaeum* piece. Kaye proposes a detailed narrative for how the trunk came to be in his possession which explicitly challenges Birdwood's convenient vagueness:

> During the evacuation [from Leadenhall Street, in 1858] some discoveries were made by some intelligent messengers of the establishment when effecting a clearance of obscure parts of the house. Knowing my literary proclivities, they brought to my notice certain rubbish (long so regarded) to be found in such out-of-the-way places. I went into the cellars, and there found some very early records of the consultations at Surat and Madras. These were brought to the

[13] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 1r.

> upper air; and the when the library *in transitu* was moved to Cannon-row, I made them over to the late Mr Millar, assistant librarian, and I saw them in his custody in one of the rooms formerly occupied by the Board of Control. Besides these papers from India there was discovered a large cylindrical black box, containing some of the earliest transactions of the East India Company—charters, subscriptions to loans, &c., with the original signatures and seals (some of the greatest interest as historical curiosities)—and this I had conveyed to my official quarters, where they remained until the state of my health compelled me to resign office towards the close of last year. I knew that they were perfectly safe in my own room, and I waited only until some definite arrangements might be made with respect to the library and museum to make them over to the department to which it might be considered advisable to transfer curiosities of this description.[14]

This casts some light, at least, on Birdwood's potential reasons for attributing the remark that the records "had been lying in [Kaye's] room since beyond the memory of anybody in the Political Department", as well as on his implicit assertion that the state of the trunk's contents argue for the recognition of their value as his own.[15] Kaye, in fact, proposes a counter-narrative, in which he (by virtue of his "literary proclivities") is the prime agent of recovery, and the archival chaos from which the documents needed to be rescued ("brought to the upper air") is pushed back to the Company period.

> At a later period ... a roll of parchment was brought to me by one of our messengers, asking if it were of any value. I found that it was the original treaty (in English and Persian) of Allahabad—August, 1765—signed by Lord Clive and General Carnac, with the seal of the Nabob, Hoojah-ood-Dowlah. I ordered it to be framed and glazed, and it is now in my private library, whence (renouncing all claims of flotsam and jetsam) I am prepared to transfer it at any moment to the officer appointed to take charge of the old historical memorials of the Company in days before those of registers, catalogues, and indices.[16]

Again, Kaye's expertise saves an originary document of British rule in India from the

---

[14] Sir John Kaye to the Editor, *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 27 1875, p. 5.
[15] IOR L/E/53, item 531, fol. 1^{r}.
[16] Kaye, *Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 5.

oblivion to which it might otherwise be consigned by ignorance and carelessness; and ignorance and carelessness is precisely the charge he levels at the IO in general:

> Other documents may have been discovered of which I have no knowledge. But as I have reason to believe that everything of historical value was brought to me before our exodus from Leadenhall-street, I scarcely think that it is probable. I have always wished to see properly calendared (with copious extracts) the early memorials of the East India Company. ... In former days the Company kept a historiographer... but no such functionary has existed for many years past, and I have not discovered that the early days of the East India Companies are regarded with much lingering interest by those who administer the affairs of Her Majesty's Indian Government.[17]

The effect of Kaye's evident hostility towards his erstwhile employers was exacerbated by the news regarding the Treaty of Allahabad: the Council had not been aware either that it existed or that Kaye had it in his possession. The main impetus behind the letter, though, seems to be his desire to defend himself as a conscientious historian; Birdwood's narrative can only make sense at someone's expense, and Kaye is convinced that that someone is him. He had a considerable reputation to defend (which might, again, explain the care Birdwood takes not to directly and personally implicate him in the affair of the trunk): he had by this time published several well-received works of history. His *History of the Sepoy War in India*, at the time the definitive history of the Mutiny, had been coming out in instalments since 1867, and he had also published biographies of St George Tucker, John Malcolm and Lord Metcalfe, histories of the Afghan war and Christianity in India, a book entitled *Lives of Indian Officers* and, in 1853, an early administrative history of the EIC.[18] For all their obvious

[17] Kaye, *Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 5.

[18] John William Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853); *Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative* (London: Smith and Elder, 1859); *A History of the War in Afghanistan*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1851); *History*

antagonism in this instance, Kaye and Birdwood had much in common: they were both products of in-country service for the old Company, and both subscribed to a culture of mourning for the old Company (see below). Moreover, their approaches to historiography partook of the same providential scheme: in 1853 Kaye writes, with reference to the EIC, "[s]o many fingerprints of the 'hand of God in History,' which he who would read the annals of the Company aright, would dwell upon with reverence and humility".[19]

In emphasizing his knowledge of the trunk's contents and his conscientious care of records, Kaye may also be responding to the charge of administrative carelessness that was current against him throughout his time at the IO. His talent for losing documents was not only an internal matter for the IO: there were suggestions at various times that amongst the papers lost in his rooms there were essential documents relating to the Bihar and Orissa famine of 1865 and the punitive Abyssinian expedition of 1867.[20] There even seems to have been a rumour current in the IO, though never formally addressed, that had certain important documents not disappeared whilst in Kaye's possession, the Abyssinian affair of 1867 might not have escalated to the point at which a military expedition was launched.[21] With this background, the implication that he had retained the Treaty of Allahabad in order to guarantee its proper treatment

---

of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858, 3 vols (London: W.H. Allen, 1866-1876); *Life and Correspondence of Henry St George Tucker* (London: Richard Bentley, 1854); *Life and Correspondence of Major General Sir John Malcolm*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856); *Lives of Indian Officers*, 2 vols (London: Strahan / Bell & Daldy 1867); *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1855). I note in my introduction Kaye's silence on the subject of Metcalfe's wife and family (p. 42).

[19] John William Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 6.

[20] Williams, *The India Office*, pp. 74-76, p. 95, pp. 195-197.

[21] Williams, *The India Office*, pp. 85-86; see also *Hansard*, 190, November 26 1867, speech of Austen Layard; Anon., 'The Abyssinian Difficulty', *Westminster Review*, Jan-Apr 1868, n.s. 33, p. 192.

and veneration - which could not otherwise be counted upon - might have been calculated to raise hackles in the IO. He also had considerable form in angering his superiors by publishing unsanctioned writings about IO matters in the press: his articles for *The Cornhill Magazine* on the IO's tenure at the Westminster Palace Hotel and the new quarters on Whitehall caused particular trouble with their indiscreet freedom of expression (the Westminster Palace Hotel, he wrote, was "the fag-end of a public house"), and their vituperative attitude towards the new dispensation in the IO and modernity in general. [22] None of this behaviour endeared Kaye to the disciplinarian and secretive Mallet.[23]

Kaye's revelation about the treaty of Allahabad and the airing of internal dissension seem to have incensed the other IO staff working on the case. A further memorandum is preserved in the same volume, item 525, unsigned but written in a hand that resembles Sir Henry Waterfield's. It is not an official memo: written on a Sanitary Department official memo sheet which has been crudely corrected to read "Statistics and Commerce", its table of dates and initials is empty, indicating that it has not passed through the hierarchical progression stipulated by protocol. It has, however, been annotated by members of Council, indicating that it is not a duplicate or draft: it appears to have been written on the day of the offending *Gazette*'s issue, or the following morning, and to have been passed informally around council members, reaching Mallet's desk by the 28th.[24]

---

[22] Kaye, 'The House That John Built', *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1860, pp. 113-121; 'The House That Scott Built', *Cornhill Magazine*, September 1867, pp. 362-363

[23] On Mallet's professional style and demeanour, see Williams, *The India Office 1858-1869*, p. 86, pp. 102-104.

[24] IOR L/E/2/53, item 525, fols 1^{r} - 2^{v}.

A letter from Sir JK, in the Pall Mall Gazette of the 27th of April, appears, appears to call for some notice. [The memo here quotes some of Kaye's letter] These words give a very inaccurate description of the old book-room at the India House, a portion of the building consisting of five floors, shut off from the rest of the Office by fire-proof doors. Here all the oldest records were carefully placed on shelves, catalogued in so perfect a manner that, when Lord Ellenborough visited the India House, and - to test the record system - called for one of the old treaties, it was produced by Mr Ward, the Keeper of the Records, in 3 1/2 minutes.[25] Doubtless, the Surat and Madras Consultations, being the oldest, were in the lowest room; but to speak of them being put away as rubbish in out-of-the-way cellars, gives a wrong impression of the manner in which they were preserved.

Sir John Kaye speaks of the old papers being brought to him, in consideration of his "literary proclivities". The fact is that, when it was in contemplation to remove the records to the West End, and it was supposed that many might with advantage be destroyed, a committee was appointed to decide which should be retained. Over the Committee Sir John Kaye was selected to preside, partly no doubt on account of his "literary proclivities", partly as being the secretary to the Political and Secret Department, and therefore peculiarly qualified to judge of the value of the older documents. The other Members of the Committee were M^{r} Hornidge, "searcher of Records" and head of the Record Department, and M^{r} Ward, Book Office registrar, that is, one who actually had the custody of the documents to that time.[26] Any papers which were brought to Sir John Kaye's notice must have been so brought to him as President of this Committee, and on him rested primarily the responsibility of their proper disposal. The papers which he speaks of having given to the late Assistant Librarian are now in Dr. Rost's study.[27]

With regard to the box, the opening of which has given rise to the discussion, Sir John Kaye cannot have refreshed his memory with an inspection of the papers since they were first brought to his notice, as there are no "charters" or "subscriptions to loans" among the contents, and he omits all notice of the very interesting roll of signatures to the original memorial for the constitution of an East India Company. As soon as Dr Birdwood receives official sanction to his proposed paper before the Royal Society of Literature, he will be able to explain to the world what the box really did contain. Sir John Kaye further speaks of a roll of parchment being brought to him by one of the messengers, which he found to be the original treaty between Clive and Shoojah-ood-dowlah, and which he had framed and glazed and transferred to his private library... It is singular that Sir John Kaye should have thought himself justified in appropriating a document of this nature, and not less singular that he should select a newspaper as the vehicle for proclaiming that

[25] Waterfield means Humphrey Waud, Book Office Registrar (*India List*, July 1875, p. vi).

[26] Marmaduke Hornidge inherited Thomas Fisher's role, although he seems to have done very little compared with Fisher's chief clerk Peter Pratt.

[27] Reinhold Rost was at the time the Librarian at the IOL, and secretary of the RAS. (Arberry, *The India Office Library*, pp. 66-69.)

> he has done so, and is willing to give up his spoils. Perhaps a demi-official note, requesting him to return the Treaty, would be the best form for making the application.

As noted, the penmanship accords with Henry Waterfield's; the detailed knowledge of the recent history of the records and the fierce defence of their keepers might strengthen the case for his authorship. At the bottom of the memo, Louis Mallet has added the following note:

> Sir John Kaye's letter | is a very improper one. I | propose to tell him privately | that he ought not to have | written it, & to request him | to return the India Office | property which he has hitherto | kept in his library.
> LM 28 a. /75[28]

Waterfield's intervention (assuming it is his) is misinformed about the actual contents of the chest; but it contributes a new perspective on Birdwood and Kaye's assertions, and goes further to illuminate what was at stake in the controversy. All three men are claiming loyalty to the defunct Company. Birdwood and Kaye express that loyalty in terms of a reverence for the relics of its early history, especially those relics which can be seen to inaugurate or expand a certain basis of Company power: the roll of subscribers in Birdwood's memo and the grant of the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in Kaye's letter. (Waterfield also invokes the subscription roll, but given his ignorance as the chest's other contents it would be unfair to infer much from this, except perhaps that he shared some of Birdwood's enthusiasm for an account of English imperialism in South Asia that privileged bourgeois mercantilism). Both writers insist upon their own significance as the favoured guardian of this inheritance, and claim

[28] IOR L/E/2/53, item 525 fol. 2^{v}.

credit for their discernment in recognizing the worth of the materials amid the general chaos, carelessness or outright contempt of current conditions – in the India Office in Birdwood's case, and the old East India House in Kaye's. Each man apparently blames the man before him; finally, Waterfield intervenes to express a loyalty to the Company as it was in its latter days, and its ways of doing business then. If anything, he suggests, the archival chaos and neglect from which the chest had been rescued was of Kaye's and others' making, and had nothing to do with the Company and everything to do with the bungled and careless manner of its physical dissolution. Waterfield, in fact, is the only correspondent here who declines to insert himself into the narrative as a uniquely insightful actor: his primary loyalty is, rather, to an institution.

The issue of Kaye's letter certainly attracted the attention of the Council. At the bottom of the page appended to the end of Birdwood's memo, which carries the resolutions of the Council in reply, below the signed initials of those present, Sir Henry Bartle Frere has scrawled a note in pencil:

> Sir John Kaye in a letter | to the Times ^Pall Mall Gazette^ says he found the | original Firmaun to Lord Clive of 1765 | & has it framed & glazed in his private | library - Should it not be restored to this office? -HBF[29]

[29] L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 4ʳ.

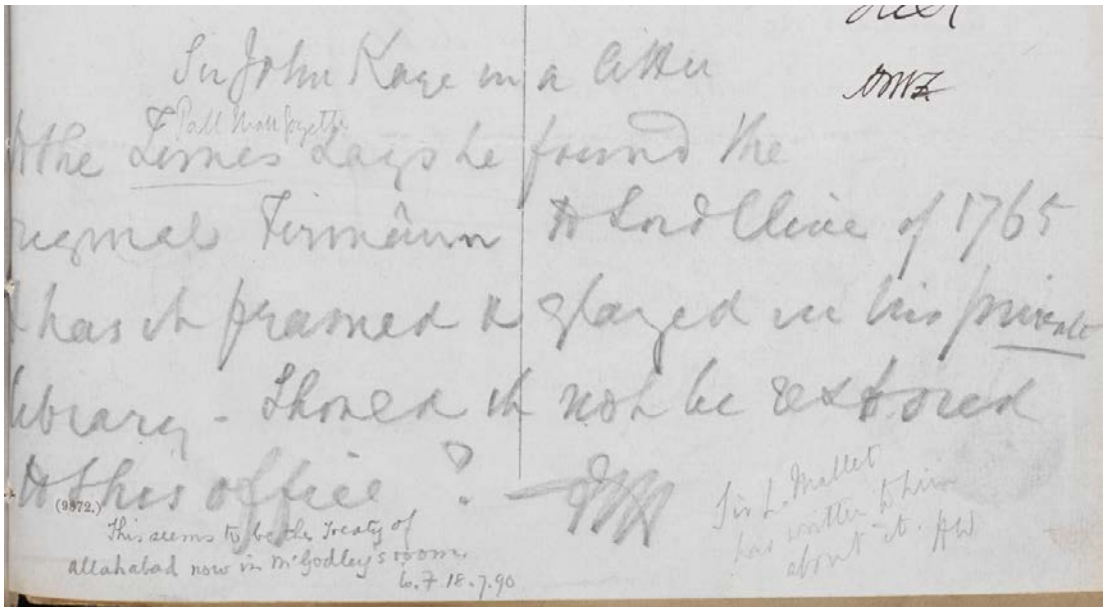


Fig. 6 IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 4[r], detail

The interpolation of "Pall Mall Gazette" is in Waterfield's hand, as is the reply below Bartle Frere's note (bottom right in fig. 6):

> Sir L. Mallet | has written to him | about it. HW[30]

Mallet's letter to Kaye is not known to survive. Whatever Mallet wrote, the Treaty was not returned, and never joined the Parchment Records: a further note, written by William Foster during the work he undertook towards the publication of the 1891 reprinted *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, is written underneath (bottom left):

> This seems to be the Treaty of | Allahabad now in Mr. Godley's room[31]. | W.F

[30] L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 4[r].
[31] Arthur Godley, Permanent Undersecretary from 1883.

18.7.90[32]

This dispute, although a footnote in the history of IOR, does begin to illuminate some of the tensions and conflicts - interpersonal, institutional and cultural - that, at this period, invested the IO's relationship with its past. It also demonstrates the necessity, in understanding the IOR's development, of being sensitive to the intersections of the institutional and the biographical which I outline in my introduction. Of the personalities studied in any depth in this thesis, Birdwood was the most explicit about the politics of his historiographical practice, and in some ways the most successful at articulating a unifying ideological motivation behind the disparate branches of his work – even when this placed him at odds with the institutional contexts in which that work took place.

Birdwood's early life was deeply involved in an India which he may have had every justification for believing no longer existed by the time he reached old age. Born in 1832 in Belgaum, Karnataka (then a major garrison town within the Bombay Presidency), he was the child of a general of the Bombay Infantry and the daughter of the clergyman of the London Missionary Society, and the fourth generation of his family to have been intimately connected with British India.[33] Having been sent to a minor Scottish public school and then to Edinburgh University, where he studied medicine, he returned to India as a medical officer, serving in Kalludgee and

[32] L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 4[r].

[33] Valentine Chirol, 'Birdwood, Sir George Christopher Molesworth', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/31896> [accessed 21 Sept 2013]; Louis Mallet, 'Sir George C. M. Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.D., LL.D. His Life and Work', *Journal of Indian Art*, 8 (1900), 119-156 (p. 119).

Sholapore,[34] treating soldiers, civilians and prisoners.[35] After service as a naval surgeon aboard HMS *Ajdaha* in the Persian Expedition of 1856-7 (which precluded him from any involvement in the 1857 uprising) he returned to Bombay and established himself within the administrative, academic, legal medical and social milieux of the city. He taught in Grant Medical College, holding the chairs first of Anatomy and Physiology and then of Botany and *materia medica*.

Meanwhile he pursued amateur academic interests. During his periods in Belgaum, Kalludghee and Shulapore he had sent large collections of flora, fauna and economic produce to the Government central Museum of Bombay, and this had attracted the attention of Lord Elphinstone, the City's governor, who promptly appointed him curator and first secretary of the Museum upon his arrival in Bombay. According to Louis Mallet's account, Birdwood was directly responsible for the establishment of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Bombay.[36] From then on, he pursued a multiple career as a grandee and energetic functionary of what he would later call, in the grandiose dedication to the 1891 reprint of *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, "The Civic Life of OLD BOMBAY".[37] He was elected secretary to the Bombay branch of the RAS, registrar of the newly-founded University of Bombay,

---

[34] 'Sholapore' is Solāpur, Maharashtra; 'Kalludghee' was Kalādghi, Karnataka, but since 2005 has been submerged by the Almatti/Krishna River dam.

[35] Mallet, p. 119.

[36] "...at a cost", writes Mallet, "of upwards of £200,000. The undertaking was largely subscribed to by the people of Bombay as a loyal memorial of the transfer of the possessions of the East India Company to the direct administration of the British Crown..." (Mallet, p. 119). This is an interesting footnote to the concerns of this chapter, which cannot be properly addressed without a more detailed investigation of Indian contexts; but that Mallet, a consummate late nineteenth-century imperial bureaucrat who failed to share Birdwood's romantic imperialist nostalgia for the old (i.e., Company) ways of doing things, should so explicitly enlist the Museum as indicative of Indian subjects' approval of the 1858 constitutional position not only poses interesting questions about the relationship between museological activity and the construction of colonised social identities and ideologies, but also indicates the persistence of certain debates and anxieties.

[37] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891) unpaginated flyleaf.

Secretary to the Elphinstone Funds (the funds established by Lord Elphinstone for providing educational facilities in the Presidency),[38] a member of the municipality and, in 1864, Sheriff of the city.[39] By this time, he had published a "Catalogue of the Economic Products of the Presidency of Bombay",[40] and on the initiative of Henry Bartle Frere (then in the Council of India),[41] was appointed Special Commissioner to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867.

Ill health forced him to retire from India almost as soon as he had become Sheriff, and he returned to England in 1868, to begin his new career within and around the India Office. He was employed initially as a specialist in Indian arts, crafts and manufactures, attached to the India Museum – the Museum itself, already an object of some institutional debate and resentment, having been moved in 1869 into cramped quarters on the third floor on the IO.[42] In 1871, the IO charged him with the supervision of the India Museum collections in a series of special exhibitions at South Kensington, and in 1875, as his memo indicates, he was appointed to the post of Keeper of the India Museum. His real job during this period was, in effect, to manage the breakup of the

---

[38] Mallet, p. 119.

[39] Chirol, rev. Prior, 'Birdwood, Sir George Christopher Molesworth (1832–1917)', *ODNB*.

[40] George Birdwood, *Catalogue of the Economic Products of the Presidency of Bombay: Being a Catalogue of the Government Central Museum* (Bombay: printed at the Education Society's Press, 1862). Mallet seemed to suggest, in his 1900 tribute article for the *Journal of Indian Art*, that Birdwood demonstrated an early genius for classification here: "[The *Catalogue*] was most favourably noticed not only in India, but in England, and, by the late Professor Garcin de Tassy, in France. It has been used as the foundation of all catalogues of Indian vegetable produce at subsequent exhibitions, and the classification he adopted in it has ever since been followed in India." (Mallet, 'Sir George C. M. Birdwood', p. 119).

[41] Prior to his work in the IO, Frere was a famously talented colonial administrator, spending much of his career in the 1840s in the Bombay Presidency and as the Company's representative at the court of the Maratha state of Satara; he was also considered an authority on the languages and history of the area. Although his and Birdwood's careers in India did not often see them in the same place for long, they would have known of each other in Bombay and shared considerable interests. (John Benyon, 'Frere, Sir (Henry) Bartle Edward, first baronet (1815–1884)', *ODNB* online edn. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1017> [accessed 22 Sept 2013].)

[42] Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 81-93, p. 129. After the wholesale clearing-out of East India House in 1858, the Museum had been lodged in Fife House on the Embankment.

Museum's collections and their dispersal to the British Museum and South Kensington, whilst retaining control over the "economic collections" - the material database of samples of natural resources and manufactured products, which the IO wanted to keep in a central location for viewing by representatives of commerce. He remained the most prominent expert on these collections; he managed contributions to several international exhibitions, producing catalogues for many of them, and in 1880 published *The Industrial Arts of India*.[43] From 1879, the Museum having been largely dispersed, his official post was Special Assistant to the Revenue and Statistical Department, and the main thrust of his professional activities in the IO moved to the archives. In 1889 he published the first *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (covered in Chapter 3), and from then until his retirement from the IO in 1905 his primary focus was effectively the creation of the IOR. Throughout his career, and up until his death in 1916, he continued to write and lecture on a wide variety of topics, and it becomes impossible, in studying his actions as prime mover in the IOR's creation, to separate action from ideology, eccentricity and intellectual preoccupations.

In an address delivered to the RSA in 1969, more than half a century after Birdwood's death, Kenneth de Burgh Codrington outlines his position in the genealogy of the long project of "making India known".[44] Not without a quiet irony, Codrington evokes an old man in a tasselled cap and smoking jacket who took him around the cavernous spaces of the Kensington exhibitionary complex before the First World War, an idiosyncratic figure with a quasi-religious belief in a syncretic appreciation of

[43] George Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India*, 2 vols (London: published for the Committee of Council of Education by Chapman and Hall, 1880).
[44] Kenneth de Burgh Codrington, *Birdwood and the Study of the Arts in India* (London: Royal Society of the Arts, 1970)

Western and Eastern art and a nostalgia for Company rule not uninflected by a sense of exile and mourning.

Indeed, Birdwood displays, in all his writings, an aestheticized consciousness of belonging to an earlier time. In contrast to the enthusiasm for technological advance and ever-increasing spatial domination of administrative enthusiasts like the Humboldtian geographer Clements Markham and the civil engineer Charles Frederick Danvers, or the slightly affectless gestures towards nostalgia made by William Foster in his persona as consummate professional archivist, antiquarian and bureaucrat, Birdwood's writing inhabits a world which revolves around a palpable sense of mourning and a deep loyalty to institutions and milieux which he considered to have been irrevocably lost or betrayed. Insofar as the objects of this mourning can be made legible, they seem to have centred around a conception of the old East India Company as the ideal arbiter and enabler of a (biracial, but essentially segregated) civic society in Bombay specifically and the Subcontinent at large. His attachment to Hindu culture, and antipathy towards the political enfranchisement of Indians, owes much the dehistoricizing tendencies of orientalism outlined in Chapter 3: in defending the 'colour bar' in South Africa, for example, he writes, "so long as the Hindus hold to [the caste system], India will still be India; but from the day they break from it, there will be no more of India… That glorious peninsula will be degraded to the position of a bitter 'East End' of the Anglo-Saxon Empire, as were Shadwell and Limehouse and Bermondsey, of London, by the abolition of the Honourable East India Company, on September 1, 1858!".[45] Here, as often in his writings, it is not entirely clear precisely

[45] Birdwood, *Sva* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1915), pp. 318-319.

what the object of mourning is: modernity (suggestively figured as urban, industrial, proletarian, and political) is opposed to a culture whose inherent value resides in its ahistoricity: the decline of a paternalistic (and racially and confessionally separatist) ethic in imperial administration is seen as having endangered Britain's true mission in India, which is to curate it as a kind of nature reserve of the spirit.[46] Eventually, he writes on occasion, India is to be "upraise[d]" to independence, and allowed to resume historicity; but this is envisaged as occurring a century or two in the future.[47]

Relics of the Honourable East India Company ends with a photographic plate of a china bowl, Birdwood's text on which quickly turns into a bizarre invective:

> "....Here I begin to suspect myself of using this 'China Dish' to cast it, after the fashion of the Discobolus of Myron–mentioned above,--in the face of the detractors and despoilers of the Honourable East India Company, the *JEHAN KUMPANI*, meaning the 'World [over-shadowing] Company' of the people of India, whence our Hobson-Jobsonism of 'JOHN COMPANY": but in truth my one dominating thought has been to render, in devoutest gratitude, a last act of homage to the memory—
>
> For now the sons of Oineus are no more;
> The glories of the mighty race are fled,
> Oineus himself, and Meleager, dead.
>
> --*Iliad, ii. 641-2*
>
> of the greatest and most beneficent trading organisation of any age or nation; that ...more than any other material or moral influence within the United Kingdom, served to exalt the dominion, might, and majesty of the British Empire to the unparalleled pitch of glory and praise reached by it in the fateful

[46] See especially his essay on 'The Mahratta Plough', which flits in and out of an involved discussion of Maratha agriculture and its endangerment by imported industrial farming techniques to excoriate Christian missionaries, secularization, and the corrupting effects of "our manufacturing and commercial wealth, so deceptively beautiful without, but within full of gall and ashes". The essay is also interesting for its rigorous application of the kind of classicizing procedures of Orientalism I note in Chapter 3: in enumerating the parts of the plough under discussion, Birdwood gives each its Maratha, Latin and Ancient Greek name. He also points out that the plough itself is identical to instruments used in the Shetlands and the Hebrides: not only is the material culture of India brought into intimate contact with classical antiquity, but it is also linked to the ethnological past-in-the-present of Britain's rural periphery. This is arguably a similar procedure to the evolutionary arrangement of artefacts interrogated by Van Keuren in Pitt-Rivers' curatorial practice. (Birdwood, *Sva*, pp. 25-88 (p. 86, p. 69, p. 63); Van Keuren, 'Museums and Ideology', pp. 270-276).

[47] Birdwood, *Sva*, Introduction, p. xviii.

reign of the Queen-Empress Victoria."[48]

Birdwood's nostalgia here is extravagantly expressed, but the sentiment, and its very public expression, is hardly rare. The rhetorical flattening of historical time is a common trope in Birdwood's writings, and in those of others: elegy for a past whose pastness makes it conveniently susceptible to myth-making (and insusceptible to critique or reproach) both enables, and is redeemed by, a triumphant teleology which carries forward into the future: the Empire of the Queen-Empress and the sons of Oineus are mutually dependent terms.

Here that common series of rhetorical moves is augmented by a certain petulance or paranoia, as if the work of paying tribute to the Company was necessarily a defensive act. Donovan Williams identifies a culture of mourning for the EIC during the sixties, seventies and eighties, and contends that this "tyranny of the past" significantly deformed policymaking.[49] The violent dislocations of physical premises and the changes in institutional culture between 1858 and the consolidation of a relatively modern and professionalized bureaucratic regime under Louis Mallet and Arthur Godley provided ample opportunity for the remaining rump of old Company servants to raise querulous protests against the infringement of their prerogatives or the

[48] Birdwood and Foster, *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, p. 42.

[49] Williams, 'The Formation of Policy in the India Office, 1858-1869'; Williams, *The India Office 1858-1969*, p. xvii, pp. 142-147. Williams' main thesis in this regard is that much of the internal politics and policymaking activities of the IO between 1858 and the 1880s were informed by a struggle between "old India hands" (such as Frere and Kaye) who had experienced the consolidation of power and the suppression of the Mutiny, and capable younger bureaucrats such as Mallet and Godley whose lack of in-country experience they resented. This is a useful optic for understanding policymaking processes, and the wider cultural cleavage is useful context for many of the individual conflicts and tensions within the IO during the seventies and eighties. In emphasising a relatively simplistic factionalist narrative, however, it does tend to obscure the deep divisions which existed within each group, especially the "Company" faction – as demonstrated here by the evident hostility between Birdwood and Kaye.

betrayal of Company mores.[50] Sir John Kaye's habit of embarrassing the Company through his public pronouncements and writings throughout the 1860s and 1870s seems to have originated at least partly in a very similar attitude.[51]

The requests Birdwood made in his initial memorandum bear out this pattern of behaviour and attitude. The first two requests - formally explaining the making of the catalogue and requesting remuneration for Sainsbury, and begging permission to "expand this minute into a paper for the Royal Society of Literature",[52] convey a sense of the scholarly/antiquarian world of 1870s London as a place which still operated as a broad network even as its institutions became increasingly entrenched, centralised and rationalised, and in which work that crossed institutional boundaries was still something which could take place on a semi-formal basis.[53] The proposal that Sainsbury's calendar be printed in the RSL's circular is something for which official sanction must be sought, but hardly seems unlikely to be granted. Birdwood's final request is stranger and more passionately phrased:

> I would also venture to suggest that the parchments should be carefully restored, and exhibited in this Office. I would not have them sent to the Museums. They are not idle curiosities to be toyed about in museums, but State Archives which should be reverently kept in the India Office itself: and after restoration should

---

[50] Kaminsky, *The India Office, 1880-1910*, pp. 35-62.

[51] The semi-covert invective of the *Cornhill Magazine* articles is far outdone by the vitriol, and the evident sense of persecution, in Kaye's private correspondence: in 1873 he writes "as to office I toil on and on, but it is all disheartening and disappointing, a constant succession of defeats by brainless or heartless majorities..." (Kaye to Low, October 26, 1873: Kaye's confidential letter books, IOR L/P&S/misc., quoted in Williams, *The India Office 1858-1869*, p. 88).

[52] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 4^{r}.

[53] Here, Sutherland's description of the civil service "gently ossifying" from *c*.1870 onwards (*Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-century Government*, p. 8) is both suggestive and wildly inaccurate when applied to knowledge institutions and state archives. The sense of entrenchment, of the hardening of routine and protocol, is certainly there in the histories of the PRO, the IO and related institutions; but for archives and museums, the beginnings of that process involved enormous amounts of energy and innovation. In the case of museums, especially - and museological developments would feed, as will demonstrated here, into archival practice - a whole new cultural complex was about to come into being, one with an intimate relation to the technologies and epistemologies of colonial rule.

> be rolled up, and put away in a glass cabinet in the Council Room. The roll of the original Subscribers of the £2,000,000 stock which contains the names of nearly the whole of the well to-do middle class people of England a century ago, should never again pass out of sight.[54]

This is a singular suggestion, and the annotations on the minute betray the council's puzzlement and irritation.

> The Statistics and Commerce Committee recommend
> that the following proposals of Dr. Birdwood be
> approved:--
>
> 1. That a grant of £21 be made to Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, of the Record Office, for his trouble in preparing the calendar of the Old Records.
> 2. That Dr. Birdwood be allowed to read a paper on the subject of these records before the Royal Society of Literature, and to furnish a copy of the Calendar to the Society for publication.
> 3. That the documents be carefully restored and exhibited ^with the tally sticks^ in the Museum and ^that they^ be eventually sent to the Library for custody.[55]

In point 3, the word "Museum" is heavily underlined in pencil. Furthermore, Frere has added his own note:

> the documents will
> be much better seen in
> the Museum or Library
> than in a Cabinet - HBF[56]

The issue of antiquities and museums was particularly vexed at this time. Ray Desmond's administrative history of the India Museum traces minutely the long, messy

[54] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 3^{v} - 4^{v}.
[55] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 4^{r}.
[56] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 3^{v}.

and often acrimonious divorce between the India Office, its Records and Library, and the Museum's collections; Birdwood's professional obligations are more or less discernible, but his opinions and inclinations somewhat less so in this case.

In October 1874 the India Museum had been effectively liquidated: its contents, by now thoroughly alienated from their original display contexts at Leadenhall Street, were moved wholesale to exhibition galleries in South Kensington, where, as the Indian Repository, they were to become one of the foundational collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Just as the state had absorbed and appropriated the governance of India, it had also taken custody of the antiquarian riches that the Company had amassed, within a complex where, as the property of the British Government, they would be deployed in sophisticated ways to narratorialise, interpret, commodify and propagandise the work of Empire to the working-class and professional Englishman and his family.[57]

Desmond's history gives a sense of the personal animosities, ambivalences and conflicted loyalties, and the institutional frictions and resistances, involved in driving developments during this period in the Imperial state and knowledge apparatus. As has been noted, the clash of competing museological visions and the ideologies which underlie them, the compromises by which accommodation is reached, and indeed the texture of curatorial and administrative work themselves provide something of a counterweight to Foucauldian conceptions of the museological complex as a monolithic construct of irresistible state power. The history of the India Museum does, however, illustrate many of the recurring themes of the vexed relationship between

[57] Arberry, *The India Office Library*; pp. 67-74; Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 168-204. See also the discussion of the museological complex in Chapter 3.

government and knowledge in the last nineteenth century. First, there is the physical and institutional separation of the instruments of governance from those of education and instruction: whereas the Museum and Library previously sat adjacent to each other in the old East India House, they are separated, set at variance to each other (the textual and the artefactual being divergent categories calling for separate specialisms) and removed to other premises. Meanwhile, the exhibitionary complex in South Kensington begins to develop, in which a whole area, physically distinct from the seat of power, is specially designed for mass instruction and display. This partitioning of functions and growth of specialism is replicated on all levels with the reclassification and dispersal of collections: thus, the India Museum's collection is dispersed piece by piece into specialised repositories, with a collection of wood samples going to Kew and the Natural History collection being donated to the natural history collection of the British Museum, which, even at the time, was itself being separated from the British Museum's other collections and sent to Kensington where it would become the foundation of the Natural History Museum. These processes all corroborate the broad narrative of increased professionalization, the marginalization of the amateur, and the separation and formalization of social functions. Desmond's section on the struggling Royal Asiatic Society, bereft of its original sponsor in the Company and plaintively begging for an accommodation with the India Office, is particularly eloquent here; as is the authority on the India Museum's natural history collection who, upon hearing that the pieces might be merged with the British Museum's collection, protested that he has "supplied many of them by the use of his gun".[58] However, there are countervailing

[58] Desmond, *The India Museum*, p. 172.

currents within this narrative: while some members of the Council of India, such as Louis Mallet, had no interest whatsoever in engaging with, much less funding, any work which was not strictly instrumental to government, and would insist only that the industrial collections be kept with the India Office as a reference tool to help facilitate trade and investment, other senior figures such as Frere were in favour of keeping the India Museum under the aegis, and on or near the premises, of the India Office (arguing, perhaps, that his dismissive response to Birdwood's suggestion about keeping the subscription rolls in the Council Room was not motivated by the wholesale hostility to the extraneously historical that one might have expected from, say, Mallet). The plans for how to resolve the situation fluctuated from month to month, and Desmond demonstrates that an accommodationist plan – one which would have involved the building of a new premises adjacent to the IO and even connected to it by a footbridge, housing the IOL, the Museum and the Geographical Department – very nearly came to fruition.[59]

The administrative conflicts and friction which had attended the issue of the Indian Museum since its removal from the Old East India House in 1861 and its separation from the India Office Library were not ones in which Birdwood had been deeply involved.[60] One might assume that, as a self-styled nostalgic for the Company, whose cultural investments lay with the Company State and the scholarly and civic institutions it patronised - the RAS, the universities in India, the life of "Old Bombay" - in short, a culture of gentlemanly amateur orientalism - he might have held some

[59] Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 133-140.
[60] In 1858, the Library was moved to Cannon Row, and the Museum to Fife House. Desmond, *The India Museum*, p. 81-93; Arberry, *The India Office Library*, pp. 60-74.

hostility towards the climate of increasing professionalization and separation of the governmental from the scholarly that was then occurring. Certainly, his more abstractly colourful criticisms of the India Office in later years tended to invoke the loss of a cultural ideal of the well-rounded gentleman amateur to a cult of efficiency and bureaucracy.[61] His position as chief organiser of the exhibits at various international exhibitions during the years in which the Museum was moving between increasingly cramped and unsuitable premises in the East India House, Fife House and the new India Office, may have exposed him to the curatorial difficulties and dangers of things being "toyed about in museums"; and at the same time, his commitment to his job of dispersing the India Museum in favour of the growing complexes in Bloomsbury and South Kensington (and in service of a career which could only be improved by the spectacular growth in the popularity of museums and the resources poured into them), can only widen the range of possible conflicts and ambivalences behind the phrase, and behind his unwillingness to see a document he clearly venerated (and thought others should venerate) leave the IO.

Perhaps what Birdwood most strongly insists upon here is a claim to continuity. His anxiety that the roll of subscribers should not be "toyed about with in museums" is effectually an insistence in its relevance, in the ideological wound that would be inflicted were it to be hived off as mere history, consigned to display among other objects ranged for ocular consumption and subjected to the popular gaze as an artefact; something that, whilst it may explain or justify present colonial domination and the

[61] Note, for example, the closing epigraph to *Sva*, which quotes G. K. Chesterton's *The Ballad of the White Horse*: "What though they come with Scroll and Pen, / And grave as a shaven Clerk; / By this sign shall ye know them, / That they ruin and make Dark." (*Sva*, p. 357).

narratives that underpin it, is remote from the project as it is presently carried out. Rather, Birdwood wishes to inscribe the document at the very centre of temporal British colonial power, the Council Room: not only to invoke a lineage, but to claim a colonial present about which he felt ambivalent in the name of a colonial past to whose defining characteristics as he saw them – John Company, England, certain cultures of mercantile bourgeois collectivism – he owed his own personal allegiances.

Birdwood would not get his wish. Indeed, the fact that the Treaty of Allahabad ended up on the wall of Godley's room rather confirms the shifts in power and culture occurring in the IO of the 1870s and 1880s. That Birdwood chose the seventeenth rather than the eighteenth century, and a document of mercantile bourgeois association rather than military conquest and territorial gain, accords roughly with both the primary focus and the politics of his historiographical practice: he was interested in the originary pasts of the EIC, in the future of the British Empire and in the India he had known: but the Empire, by and large, was a *fait accompli*, and India - the India of arts and crafts, of Sanskrit and mythology - existed outside of history. Beyond the first mythical inspirations and the Protestant heroics and civic values of the early adventurers, he evinced little interest in the dirty work of the eighteenth century. Godley, broadly representative of the new type of imperial technocrat, might well be attracted to a document which exposed the imperial past as rather more red in tooth and claw than Birdwood's vision of gentlemanly capitalism, free trade and disinterested virtue. Moroever, while the Council became an increasingly fossilised and toothless relic of an older Company and IO culture, the centre of power located itself ever more firmly in Godley's office. And, ironically, Godley's office was increasingly superseding the

Council Room as the genuine seat of imperial power over India. The rolls, however, did stay in the IO as part of the Parchment Records, and later as part of Series A: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties.

ii. Series A: the building of an archival series

The materials available

Tracing the history of a series such as IOR Series A provides in microcosm all the problems of constructing archival histories. As noted in my introduction, the archiving process itself leaves an archive as subject to ideological and narrative fashioning, and as rich and variegated, as its own holdings, although often in different ways. The archive's archive is in some respects less self-consciously constructed: those parts of it that are the paperwork of day-to-day administration - for instance, the materials in IOR L/E/2/53 - may well be bound in sequence shortly after the event, undifferentiated except by department and date. Material such as IOR H/710, Foster's notebooks, or caches of correspondence, might be essentially refuse handed over when an employee retires; what has been kept in some respects, but also what has been left behind when the departing employee has weeded out everything he wishes to keep or suppress, leaving what he cares least about.[62] However much Birdwood might have invested in managing his posterity through the dense and highly fashioned textual performances of his memoranda, he did it through print publication, leaving the manuscripts to take

[62] Foster's notebooks were bequeathed to the IOL, and are in the European Manuscripts series, shelfmarked EUR MSS E/242 (9 vols). They are fascinating, if opaque documents, and almost impossible to comb for information in any organised way.

care of themselves. The end-point of all the work so diffidently or sloppily recorded, the archival catalogues and guides, provide a chronology of discrete moments: the observer is provided with a very precise idea of the disposition of materials in, say, 1888, then again in 1891, then again in 1919, and can only reconstruct what has happened in the intervening darkness by deduction or assumption. Moreover, catalogues are not infallible, nor ever quite comprehensive: there is always error, variance and ambiguity in defining what's being observed and described, so that one catalogue's description of a text or an object might not correspond with another's; or, conversely, might fail to note changes that have occurred since the last catalogue. Neither can the date of publication be trusted as a statement of fact: catalogues themselves necessarily constitute a record of long, painstaking and frequently disrupted or peripatetic work, which may take years, so that the apparent date of a catalogue may not indicate the state of the archive as it stands at that date; and they may not be dated at all.

Before tracing the history of what became Series A, then, one should note the form of the materials through which that history is traced, since they are part of the same archive and, naturally, subject to specific pressures in the processes of selection, collation, classification and elision which gave them their archival form. Two main IOR series supply most of the narrative of the post-1874 reorganisation: H: Home Miscellaneous, and L/E/2: Statistics and Commerce Department Home Correspondence. IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, contains much of the material studied in the preceding part of this chapter: Birdwood's original memorandum, Sainsbury's catalogue, some drafts, other correspondence (some original, some duplicate), and

miscellaneous papers. The volumes in this series were assembled piecemeal to record the Department's business as it developed, and it can be assumed that its contents were handed over for filing as soon as their immediate business use was exhausted. It therefore renders a sharply located historical moment using only those papers which participants were either obliged or willing to hand over: a snapshot of what passed over particular desks within a short span of time, until the matter was considered in some sense closed. What was left out, either intentionally or not, cannot be traced, but the patterning and texture of item 531 is quite representative of the series as a whole: it begins with Birdwood's memo,[63] with the Statistics and Commerce Committee's recommendations appended to it, as both were submitted to Council; following this, there is a blotter copy of a draft or copy of the same document, in a hand other than Birdwood's;[64] a blotter copy of a note from Mr. Woon of the Accounts Department indicating that the order of twenty guineas for Sainsbury has been approved and should be available for collection;[65] two leaves of scrap paper on which Birdwood seems to have begun to very roughly draft the text of an addendum which was not, in the end, added to the text of the memorandum until the 1889 and 1891 *Report*s, concerning Mr. Vaux's papers;[66] a short letter from Sainsbury indicating that the money was not available when he called at the appointed time at the India Office, but thanking Birdwood personally that the matter was resolved on the day following;[67] a small piece of scrap paper, barely legible, on which Birdwood has scrawled something about

[63] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 1-4.
[64] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 6-9.
[65] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 10.
[66] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 14-15.
[67] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 12-13; the missive has been interleaved amongst Birdwood's scrap notes for the Vaux addendum.

Sainsbury's remuneration;[68] and, finally, Sainsbury's catalogue, on blue paper, 24 folio pages, in his own regular hand and with only minor corrections.[69] If IOR L/E/2/53, item 531 provides an official record of the administrative moment (however conflicted, however carefully stage-managed) which inaugurated the creation of Series A, the historical process of its production is recorded in the Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 710 (IOR H/710). This is an entirely different collection, and its collation is hard to date: it does not appear in any catalogue before 1926, but is bound in a strong leather notebook binding unlike the canvas-covered cardboard generally used during that period and, indeed, unlike any styles used before it. Nothing in the volume dates from after the early 1890s, and it clearly consists mostly of papers that either belonged to William Foster or were left in his possession, relating especially to the period of 1885 to 1891 when he was assisting F.C. Danvers and Birdwood in assembling the expanded Parchment Records and the Factory Records. The papers contain nothing dated later than 1891, and Foster retired in 1923; but he remained involved in the IOR, using its holdings in historical work (for the Hakluyt Society, amongst others) until as late as the 1940s; so the narrowest date range for the volume's assembly must remain between 1891 and 1926.[70] Foster clearly participated in H/710's creation, since its first leaf is a crude scrap of paper on which he has written in pencil:

> [illegible] no 710
>
> These 3 books to be bound in 1 vol. in the
> following order:--
> catalogue of Parchment records

[68] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 16-17.
[69] IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fols 18-42.
[70] Martin Moir, *Sir William Foster 1863-1951: A Bibliography* (London: IOLR Occasional Publications, 1), pp. 1-4.

Catalogue of Damaged Papers
Index to "" ""[71]

This is, then, a very different type of record from that preserved in L/E/2/53 item 531: a selection of papers assembled after the fact of the series' collation and bound together purely because of the information they contain as to its various sources – and kept, moreover, for reasons that are specifically archival rather than administrative. These are the working notes of a process undertaken largely by one man, rather than the textual/material traces of an exchange between dispersed individuals and committees. As with much of the 'archive's archive', H/710 is often frustratingly fragmentary and nebulous, partaking more of the qualities of a scrapbook than of a ledger. Although the archivists (in this case William Foster) clearly took care to preserve the notes and paperwork of their efforts, they rarely took care to expend on them the same protocols of enumeration, order and paratext that they did on materials more properly "historical". The casualness with which documents are thrown together and bound - undated, uncontextualised, and sometimes untraceable - can yield an intimate impression of the texture of archival work. This sense of intimacy should, however, be treated with due suspicion: if H/710 was bound in 1926, the documents in it were up to fifty years old: however casually, something must have been invested in their survival. IOR L/E/2/53 and IOR H/710 are more or less all we have by which to reconstruct the assembly of Series A, and in some senses they are plenty: they also allow a kind of double view of the business conducted in the India Office's archives, on the respective axes of the institutional versus the personal, the discrete and

[71] IOR H/710, verso of front binding.

historically bounded administrative moment with all its interwoven occurrences versus the more historically expansive process.

The further contents of H/710 will be studied throughout the remainder of this chapter and Chapter 3; but the first record from this volume to note is the "Catalogue of Parchment records" (fols 1-9). This is a document from the early nineteenth century, carefully produced and in pristine condition; and, essentially, it is exactly the same catalogue as Sainsbury's, only made several decades earlier. Its title page reads as follows:

East India house

1835 Mar. 10
Memorandum.—This Catalogue was made in the London Company's Record Office previously to the Contents thereof being transferred to the Custody of

P. Pratt

Catalogue
of
Letters Patent from the crown
kept in a Trunk;
consisting of
Grants, Warrants Licenses, and
Commissions
to the
Company and their Servants
commencing in the reign of James I
and ending in that of George II[72]

The note in the top right hand corner is made in a different hand and ink from the rest of the document, and the signature is that of Peter Pratt, the clerk who was employed by Charles Wilkins in the "Register Department of the Library" (see introduction).

[72] IOR H/710, fol. 1r.

Between 1817, when the registry of records and the post of historiographer were assumed by the Library, and his retirement in 1835, Pratt established himself as the records' most competent and thorough cataloguer to date, and a pioneering antiquarian both in the archives and in the amateur scholarly world in general.[73] The well-organised cache of old records which he left behind in 1835 became known as 'Pratt's Papers' – the best effort, in fact, that had yet been made at a systematised collection and cataloguing of older material. During his tenure at the East India House he had set several subsidiary clerks to work on cataloguing old records, and it seems likely that this was one such effort; [74] but this catalogue contains neither a date nor any information as to the people, or the rationale, behind its creation; and, unlike Pratt's other 'Papers', it represents not a collation of disparate material on a theme, but simply a descriptive catalogue of a static and non-porous collection. Clearly, this note was intended to alert future archivists to the catalogue's significance and provenance, but its meaning is ambiguous as to timing and agency: does he mean that *all he knows* about the catalogue is that it was made before any of the material reached his hands, or that he *caused it to be made* before he accepted them as part of his collection? The question is not particularly important to the history of Birdwood and Sainsbury's efforts; but the catalogue's existence, careful dating and stringent organisation indicates a history of the chest and its contents, and of the early nineteenth-century Records Department at Leadenhall Street, which problematises both Birdwood's and Kaye's

[73] Pratt is not noted in the *ODNB*, and biographical references are sparse. His works include a two-volume translation of Quintus Curtius Rufus' history of Alexander the Great (1821), and a *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East India Co., at the Instance of the Court of Directors* (London: 1822; repr. Kobe: JL Thompson & Co., 1931)). The volume on Japan made heavy use of the factory records and correspondence from the English factories in Japan in the early seventeenth century.

[74] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records,* p. viii.

invocations of archival chaos: Birdwood's in that it indicates that, even if the documents were indeed "all mixed together in the greatest confusion", they had at some point been efficiently organised and none of them had been removed, and Kaye's in that Pratt, at least, seems to have maintained a reasonably efficient and well-documented archive in the Leadenhall Street cellars.

This catalogue (hereafter 'the Pratt catalogue', for clarity), however, seems to have been kept separately from the trunk itself. Neither Sainsbury nor Birdwood give any indication of having been aware of it; Sainsbury's catalogue reproduces one error of ordering which, on the balance of probabilities, does not indicate knowledge.[75] There is no extant evidence of its having been discovered until 1889, when William Foster used the reverse side of the back page to make a tentative rough catalogue headed "Additional Papers examined 31st Jan '89".[76] This might suggest that the

[75] Specifically: A/1/12, dated 17 Oct 1629 ('Letters Patent of Charles I granting power to ship Bullion') is misidentified in the Pratt catalogue as dated 1630, and is therefore placed *after* A/1/13, dated 10 March 1630 (and bearing exactly the same designation in catalogue, being almost identical to A/1/12); A/1/13 is numbered 9 and A/1/12 is numbered 10. The mistake appears to stem from adjusting to the regnal year of Charles I: both A/1/12 and A/1/13 are clearly identified as being in the fifth regnal year, which begins on March 27th. The same mistake is made in the "Sub-list of Deed and Letters Patent found in the same Trunk, belonging to the Class 'Law'", where the 1531 lease of the house in Bishopsgate Street is misidentified as "6th Chas. I". A marginal note, clearly produced at the same time as the catalogue, corrects this: "Error for 5th Chas. I. This | King ascended the Throne | 27th Mar. 1625 N.S. = 17th March | 1624-5 O.S." Sainsbury replicates the error in numbering, but not the error in date (IOR L/E/2/53 item 531, fols 5r - 6r). One assumes that he made the mistake whilst writing his manuscript and added the correct date once he realised it, and then forgot to reverse the numbers - unless the numbers were added later, although that does not appear to have been the case. The error is replicated in the transcription of Sainsbury's catalogue given in the appendix to the 1891 reprint of Birdwood's *Guide to the Old Records of the India Office* (p. 265), but thereafter the problem is corrected. Meanwhile, Sainsbury does *not* replicate the Pratt catalogue's mistake concerning A/1/6 and A/1/7 (duplicate documents dated 17 March 1609/10: Henry Middleton's Commission, discussed in detail in Chapter 1): the Pratt catalogue has them dated 1608/09, disturbing the order of records 2 - 4 in its own numbering. in this case, the chances of two men doing the same work on the same materials making the same mistake by coincidence would appear to outweigh any possibility that Sainsbury was aware of the Pratt catalogue; although the complete silence in the records at large about the discovery of the Pratt catalogue - when it was found, where, and by who - does pose questions. Perhaps the find was considered an embarrassment.

[76] IOR H/710, fol. 9v.

catalogue was discovered along with these papers.

The Parchment Records trunk: origins and contents

As I have already shown, the disposition of archives in East India House through the late seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth century is a mystery, and is often best pieced together from the evidence of things going wrong: records being lost, damaged or mistreated, papers being unavailable when wanted. Certain collections, however, indicate the EIC's desire to collate materials for reasons of policy formation and briefing, publicity, or political controversy: for instance, Fisher's collection of China materials and *Statement of the Princes of the Eastern Seas* (see Chapter 3). A similar possible origin for the Parchment Records lies in the constitutional crises of the late eighteenth century. In 1773, the year of the parliamentary intervention which resulted in Lord North's Regulating Act,[77] the Company printed a volume of charters from 1600 to the present. Published at the Company's own expense as *Charters granted to the East India Company from 1601; also the Treaties and Grants made with or obtained from the Princes and Powers in India from the year 1756 to 1772,*[78] it appears to have had no overt propagandist aims, nor to have been widely sold, if at all; but may have circulated amongst those with an interest in the Company's legal and constitutional position.[79] This volume was known to the nineteenth-century archivists, and a reprint

[77] See Lucy Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp. 240-268.

[78] *Charters Granted to the East India Company from 1601; also the Treaties and Grants made with or obtained from the Princes and Powers in India from the year 1756 to 1772*, (London: East India Company, undated); ESTC T425220.

[79] The Company's relationship with and use of print in the context of home administration is a somewhat under-researched area. Miles Ogborn has persuasively analysed the relationship in India during the late eighteenth century (*Indian Ink*, pp. 198-265). Ogborn, building on the work of Bernard Cohn and

was issued, with a dry historical introduction and the addition of one extra document, in Calcutta in 1887.[80]

However, although the 1773 volume largely features documents of exactly the same kind as the Parchment Records, and many of the surviving originals that its text derives from did end up in Series A, none of the trunk's documents actually appear in it; which opens the possibility of the trunk having been assembled, and its contents sequestered from the main body of the archive and the knowledge of the men in the Recorders' office, long before the 1770s. When the 1887 volume appeared, there were no additions from the trunk: the single new document corresponds to IOR/A/1/41: letters patent of Charles II granting the power to establish a municipality and Mayor's Court in Madras.[81] This was not one of the documents from the trunk.[82] The documents reproduced in these volumes are assembled according to exactly the same rubric as those in the chest: they all carry Royal imprimatur and the legal status of being approved by the crown. Indeed, the majority of the documents from the 1773 volume, on being discovered over the years following the trunk's discovery, were quickly absorbed into Series A. We can assume that the documents in the trunk would have been included in the 1773 volume, had they been accessible. It follows that, for whatever reason, they were not: they were in the hands of one of the proprietors, they

C.A. Bayly amongst others, argues that print was never a blunt instrument of dominance, but rather a complex and ambivalent tool whose relationship to the colonial project was constantly fluctuating and rarely direct.

[80] *Charters Relating to the East India Company from 1600 to 1761. Reprinted from a Former Collection with Some Additions and a Preface, by John Shaw, Esquire. For the Government of Madras.* (Madras: printed by R. Hill at the Government Press, 1887).

[81] *Charters Relating*, pp. 84-96.

[82] Shaw's preface is unilluminating on the circumstances of the document's retrieval, but it may have been the original unearthed in Madras. IOR A/1/41 is a copy, and was amongst the "Documents discovered in a cupboard in Mr. Danvers' room, near the window", in 1889 - two years after the Madras publication.

had been sequestered for reasons unknown, or that they had been collated, locked away and lost before the archival gleaning for the 1773 volume began. This, again, seems slightly unlikely, given that the most recent document inside is dated 1758, and the turnover of staff in the record department was slow.[83] The Pratt catalogue offers no explanation, and if anything betrays a certain mystification: next to Item 20 (IOR A/1/27: Letters Patent of Charles I authorizing payment of 92,000 to the EIC), a marginal note reads: "There are | some Tallies in | the Trunk which | may relate to | these Payments".[84] So the tally sticks were already in the trunk: their presence there, like that of the documents, was taken for granted and documented; and, having been catalogued, and the catalogue placed elsewhere for safe-keeping, the trunk disappeared again into disorganised neglect, the "rubbish, long so regarded" in the cellars at Leadenhall Street, from which Kaye (if we are to believe his own account) redeemed it. [85]

What Birdwood and Sainsbury found in the trunk was a richly textured selection of material covering a long historical period. Although the tally-sticks and the two lumps of iron in the bag marked "15 pagodas" are no longer in the IOR, all of the 40 documents catalogued by the anonymous clerk before 1835 and then by Sainsbury in 1875 survive in the present Series A: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties. The majority of them – 28 in total – are Letters Patent from the Crown to the Company, granting a variety of permissions and licenses. As I note in Chapter 1, Letters Patent were a primary means of encoding in documentary form Royal sanction for a wide

[83] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, pp. ii-v; See also Moir, *General Guide*, pp. 14-59 on the administrative background of the the EIC from 1709-1858.
[84] IOR H/710, fol. 5^{r}.
[85] Kaye to the Editor, *Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 5.

range of behaviours, permissions and exemptions, as well as formally declaring the terms of loans, remittances and grants. The first two documents in the chest are Letters Patent from 1608 and 1609 granting permission to deal in ungarbled (i.e., unsorted) spices;[86] a privilege for which Royal sanction had to be sought, since the irregular and infrequent dumping of large amounts of raw spices (nutmeg, cloves, and cinnamon) on the home market tended to play havoc with the domestic economy.[87] The same economic anxieties and broadly protectionist trade policies of James I's and Charles I's governments underlay the repeated grants of permission to export gold and silver, since each instance had to be separately applied for.[88] However, although more early grants of power to ship specie were later to be added to the series, the original 40 documents contain no such letters patent dated before 1629. Besides the 1606 and 1607 spice import permits, only four documents date from the first 30 years of the Company's operations, and they are all commissions to captains. Amongst them is Henry Middleton's Commission of March 17, 1610, for commanding the Fourth Voyage;[89] the next, of February 4th 1623, is the general grant of judicial powers to East India Company officers, for the control of their crews and factory staff.[90] Thereafter, until 1636, there are only intermittent licences to ship bullion; until the August 7th, 1655 remittance of £50,000 from Cromwell to the Company.[91] In the mid-1660s, the Anglo-Dutch war produces a clutch of licences for the sale of goods from ships taken as prizes of war; the following years produce quitclaims on behalf of the government for the

[86] Sainsbury nos. 1 and 2; IOR A/1/3 and A/1/4.
[87] Chaudhury, pp. 167-172.
[88] Chaudhury, pp. 111-135.
[89] Sainsbury nos. 3 and 4; IOR A/1/6 and A/1/7.
[90] Sainsbury no.5; IOR A/1/8. Both Middleton's commission and the grant of judicial powers are discussed in detail in Chapter 1.
[91] Sainsbury no. 16; IOR A/1/20.

proceeds of those sales. The EIC's upper hand over the crown in the long approach to 1688 is reflected in a series of loan agreements and remittances; between 1676 and 1683 there are five documents, all of them recording the repayment to the Company of major loans to the Crown.[92] In 1684 there is a break from this monotony, with Charles II's letter of November 12th commanding the return to England of Company servants John Petit, George Bourcher, Simon Cracroft and Edward Littleton to answer charges drawn up against them relating to the Bombay rebellion:[93] after this, the series reverts to quitclaims on prize ships (Spanish this time), and grants of money. In 1698, a second roll of subscribers appears, this time for the raising of a general stock of two million pounds.[94] The final Letters Patent are from Queen Anne, dated 20 August 1705: following on from the amalgamation of the Old and New Companies, the document grants the United Company pardon for all crimes and misdemeanors committed by its officers and servants.[95] Thereafter there are five more documents, all of them commissions or letters of marque authorizing sea captains to sail against pirates, dating from 1732 to 1758.[96]

Further accessions

After 1875, the Parchment Records (as they were now designated) remained fairly inert as a series: Birdwood and his staff began to devote more time to organising the damaged papers, the factory consultations and the Original Correspondence series,

[92] Sainsbury nos. 25-29; IOR A/1/33-38.
[93] Sainsbury no. 30; IOR A/1/39.
[94] Sainsbury no. 33; IOR A/1/52 and A/1/53.
[95] Sainsbury no. 35; IOR A/1/62.
[96] Sainsbury nos. 36-39; IOR A/1/74-78 and IOR A/1/82.

beginning the work of bringing the mass of surviving documents into the IOR's growing catalogue system. From this point onwards, in fact, Birdwood did little of the actual archival work, but spent most of his professional time attending to the dispersal of the Museum, the organisation of the remaining collections, and his exhibitionary work.[97] Much of the organisation was delegated to Frederick Charles Danvers, a civil engineer, IO functionary and writer on engineering topics who would become one of the main contributors to the work of building the IOR, and who is studied in more depth in Chapter 3. Although senior enough to have been an employee of the old Company - he joined the home establishment as a junior clerk in 1853 - Danvers never worked in India, and demonstrates in his work very little of the reverence and nostalgia of Birdwood or Kaye. He had become an assistant secretary to the Revenue Department in 1877, and from that point his work in the archives began to dominate; in 1884 he would become registrar and superintendent of records.[98] Although by the end of his career he was increasingly known for his contributions to archival scholarship and mastery of Indian statistical and industrial subjects, at this point his work appears blandly efficient, and any writing he produces is more or less affectless as regards the materials he deals with. Furthermore, throughout the drafts and notes of IOR H/710, his handwriting is rarely in evidence: instead, it is that of William Foster, who had been seconded to the Record Department and assigned to work under Danvers - and who, after Birdwood's and Danvers' deaths, would become the primary authority, interpreter and propagandist of the IOR. In 1889 Birdwood's first edition *Report on the Old*

[97] Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 94-102.
[98] Robert Sharp, 'Danvers, Frederick Charles (1833–1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32709> [accessed 22 Sept 2013]

Records of the India Office reproduced an abstract of Sainsbury's catalogue as an appendix.[99] However, during the next decade, more documents under the royal seal began to appear. Some came in by slow accretion, from the circulation of documents enforced by institutional change, and by persistent investigation: some were found or donated in caches. They are not acknowledged in documentation - at least, not in any documentation that survives - until someone has the time to ascertain what they are; and this tends to indicate also that there are enough documents for it to be *worth* someone's time.

The surviving records are not clear on when new accessions began to appear, but there are hints. The copy of Birdwood's April 1875 memo in Home Miscellaneous Vol. 710 is undated, and bears an additional page, on which a further minute or addendum has been copied:

> Minute
> Subject. – Old Records.
> Mr Vaux, who is assisting me in the paper which I have been allowed to prepare for the Royal Society of Literature on the Old Records received by me from Colonel Burne, has found in the Office Library ten original documents relating to the East India Company, which he wishes to be noticed in the paper and sanction is requested for issuing the same.[100]

Nothing on this matter appears in the Statistics and Commerce Home Correspondence,[101] so it seems never to have been submitted as an official request.

---

[99] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 181-189.

[100] IOR H/710, fol. 16^{r-v} (fol. 16^{r}). The edited text of the memo is also in very rough draft in IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 11, fols 14-15. This indicates that the Statistics and Commerce records collected in IOR L/E/2/53 were not collected, or at least not *bound*, for some considerable time after their production; so that although they provide a fragmentary and multiperspectival view of a bounded historical/administrative moment, they are also the product of a practice of harvesting and collection which takes place over a comparatively long period of time, and clearly at some expense of labour. Note, in the text, the omission of Sir John Kaye's name.

[101] See index to the series, IOR Z/L/E/2/8-10.

Vaux's papers span a period from 1708 to 1800. The first five are all from 1708 and 1709, concerning Godolphin's award and the reassignment of debts following the union of the two Companies, and they include the original Letters Patent of Queen Anne confirming the terms of the award.[102] The remainder are dispersed throughout the reigns of George II and George III, and are mostly letters patent granting the Company rights to booty from military conquests: against the Nawab Nazim in 1757[103] and against Tipu Sultan in 1800.[104] The exception is the indenture of 1796 granting Warren Hastings an annuity.[105] Why these papers might have been abstracted to the Library is an open question, although it should be noted that the boundary between the Records and the Library (and, indeed, the museum) was often somewhat porous before 1858: this situation only began to change after 1858, when the Library moved to Cannon Row and many of the records were transported to the Westminster Palace Hotel, and then further after 1867, when the physical and administrative distance between the Records and the holdings of the Library and Museum were widened.[106] The separation was cemented by the IOR's development into a self-sufficient and defined archive, the Museum's dispersal, and the Library's consolidation as a repository for antiquarian materials and material published in India.[107] Some of them are duplicated in the 1773

[102] IOR A/1/63: 29 Sept 1708: Letters Patent of Queen Anne confirming terms of award by Lord Godolphin concerning the East India Company and the English East India Company.
[103] IOR A/1/79: 19 Sep 1757: Letters Patent George II granting share in plunder taken from Nawab Nazim of Bengal. 31 George II.
[104] IOR A/1/84: 25 Mar 1793: Letters Patent George III granting booty taken in late war with Tipu Sultan; IOR A/1/89: 22 Nov 1800: Letters Patent George III granting plunder from Tipu Sultan. Formerly A/1/63.
[105] IOR A/1/86: 7 Apr 1796: Indenture between United Company and Warren Hastings, granting annuity of £4,000 per annum for 18 years, beginning December 25 1795.
[106] Arberry, *The India Office Library*, pp. 60-74; Desmond, *The India Museum*, pp. 129-144.
[107] Desmond, *The Indian Museum*, pp. 168-204. See also Chapter 3.

volume of printed Charters, especially the indentures and letters patent surrounding Godolphin's award; whether they were the originals for the volume cannot be known.

Birdwood also uses this memo to note the documents that have turned up by other means over the past few years: "On the transfer of the above enumerated documents to the Record Department, several others were found in the old cases that had been brought from Leadenhall Street and stored in the library; viz:..".[108] Here is where the physical arrangement of office space, and the cramped quarters of the Library, Musuem and record rooms in the IO, begins to make itself felt: after the traumatic series of moves between Leadenhall Street, Cannon Row and Whitehall, the new IO seems to have small caches of documents stored away in boxes that have not even been opened, in cupboards and in drawers.

By this time, the Pratt catalogue must have been found - although, as noted, no-one felt it worth their while to remark upon the discovery in any recordable manner. On the blank obverse of the final leaf of the catalogue, Danvers has made a list entitled "Additional papers examined 31 Jan '89".[109] The list features 12 documents, lettered A to L. Five of them are from Vaux's papers[110] and the rest are new additions: three new additions to the stream of letters patent issuing settlements in the 1709 amalgamation of the two companies, and two duplicates of the settlement of the annuity on Warren Hastings.[111] A note at the bottom of the page reads: "The above are in the cupboard (near the window) in Mr. Danvers' room".[112]

---

[108] IOR H/710, fol. 16^{v}.
[109] IOR H/710, fol. 9^{v}.
[110] IOR A/1/64, IOR A/1/65, IOR A/1/68, IOR A/1/86, IOR A/1/89; descriptions in previous references.
[111] IOR A/1/87; IOR A/1/88.
[112] IOR H/710 fol. 9^{v}.

In December of the same year, another sheet of notepaper indicates "Books from Mr. Danvers' Room" and "Further Papers ~~discovered by~~ received from Sir Geo. Birdwood, Dec. 89".[113] These are lettered M to S. These are a diverse range of documents, some of them clearly valuable to the reverential historiography of which Birdwood partook: most prominently there are a copy of the original Charter of Queen Elizabeth[114], and a two-volume copy of the roll of signatures for the raising of two million pounds in 1698 (a duplicate version of the roll of subscribers that Birdwood had begged to be installed in the Council Room).[115] There is also a grant from the Herald of the Royal College of Arms, assigning the EIC its own arms,[116] and Letters Patent from 1807 granting the same privilege to the newly-founded Haileybury College.[117] Three of these documents - the charter of Elizabeth,[118] a Letters Patent of 1609 renewing customs privileges,[119] and another from 1726 granting the right to levy fines imposed by Mayor's Courts and Justices in India,[120] appear in some form in the 1773 *Charters*. None of these caches of documents correspond completely enough to the 1773 *Charters* to indicate that an original collection of papers, made for the purposes of that volume, survived in any coherent shape. If such a collection ever existed, it became dispersed in the general circulation and recombination of records in the East India House; more likely it did not, since the evident contemporary significance of the documents included would probably have entailed all such

[113] IOR H/710, fol. 16[r].
[114] IOR A/1/2.
[115] IOR A/1/54.
[116] IOR A/1/58, 13 Oct 1698: Letters Patent Sir Thomas St George, Garter Principal King of Arms and of Sir Henry St George, Clarenceux King of Arms, granting arms to English EIC.
[117] IOR A/1/90, 21 Mar 1807: Letters Patent granting Arms to Haileybury College.
[118] IOR A/1/2, text duplicated in *Charters Relating* (1773), pp. 3-26.
[119] IOR A/1/5, text duplicated in *Charters Relating* (1773), pp. 27-53.
[120] IOR A/1/71, text duplicated in *Charters Relating* (1773), pp. 400-405.

documents being kept in relatively frenetic circulation as the EIC faced its major constitutional crisis. This is where the history of the archive becomes a history of exclusions and absences: all we can say for sure about the 1773 *Charters* is that it did not include any of the documents from the trunk - so it must have been lost or sequestered for reasons unknown.

Two notes follow these tentative catalogues on the same page:

"Entered & placed with A –L | in Mr D.'s room. 2.1.90

See also documents rec'd from the acct. general. 17.1.90[121]

There is no surviving single manuscript list of the documents from the Accountant General's office. However, all of the manuscript lists present up to this point (January 1890) are comprehended by a two-leaf manuscript calendar entitled "Parchment records", in Foster's hand,[122] which runs to 92 documents, including all new accessions. Presumably there was at some point a manuscript list of the documents found in the Accountant General's office, since most of these manuscript notes are replicated in some form in the appendices to the 1891 reprint of Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*. Appendix A is a print abstract of Sainsbury's manuscript catalogue;[123] Appendix C is a "List of the East India Company's Charters found in the Accountant General's Department once the first reprint of my Report on the old Records had nearly all passed through the press";[124] and Appendix D is an

[121] IOR H/710, fol. 16r.
[122] IOR H/701, fols 9-10.
[123] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 263-273.
[124] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 282-3.

amalgamated catalogue made from Foster's "Parchment records" noted above.[125]

First, the Accountant-General's records. These are much the same variety of document types as all the other accessions to date: 18 documents, none earlier that 1671 and the last a grant of plunder from 1812,[126] with an emphasis on letters patent granting privileges of trade, and a clutch of documents - indentures, reversions and so on - relating to the reconciliation of the companies in the early 18th century. Notably, however, of 18 documents in this cache, 12 of them appear in the 1773 *Charters* volume; so that if any selection of documents was assembled in the same place for that purpose, this cache seems to be the largest single survival from it.[127]

The composite catalogue table (of which the first folio page is transcribed and reproduced in Appendix B, pp. 342-343) shows Foster's careful cross-referencing of all the assembled Parchment Records. As the figure shows, he rules columns for "No.", "Date", "Description", "Location" and "Previous classification". He enters documents by date, occasionally (as in no. 9) striking through premature entries; he corrects dates as he goes, and undertakes slight adjustments of Sainsbury's ordering (nos. 9, 10, 11). Description is kept to a minimum: indicating similar antiquarian and originary interests as Birdwood, he notes where documents still bear the Royal seal, and appends the slightly plaintive note "(copy only)" to the charters of Elizabeth and James I. The "Previous classification" column notes the series or catalogue in which each document was first noted, corresponding to the rough lists enumerated above. For example,

---

[125] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 284-288; IOR H/710, fols 9-10.
[126] IOR A/1/91: 2 Oct 1812: Letters patent granting plunder from Serhampore. 52 George III.
[127] The 1773 *Charters* volume is not mentioned in Birdwood, but may be elsewhere; there was at least one copy in the India Office Library, and there must have been a general awareness of it to prompt the 1882 edition published in Madras.

Documents 2 and 4, the duplicates of Elizabeth's and James's charters, are noted "A.P. M." and "A.P. N.": this indicates that they are listed in "Additional papers examined 31 Jan. '89"[128] under the letters M and N. Foster has written next to each item on this list its new series number in pencil, but not these two: perhaps, having listed them right at the beginning of the task of amalgamating the lists, he did not need the mnemonic device. The repeated subheadings - "additional papers recieved...",[129] "Book from Mr Danvers' Room", Further Papers received from Sir George Birdwood... Entered + placed w/ A-L. | in Mr. D's room. 2.1.90"[130] - indicate that this list was built consecutively as new caches and pockets of documents came to light. This is corroborated by the note, which appears once on the imaged folio page and seven times through the Foster's manuscript, identifying provenance as "Book from Mr Danvers' Room"; none of these documents appear in the additional papers notes, or in any other subsidiary lists, indicating that the volume they have been removed from must have been found after the last additions were made to those notes; and either the paper on which they were first noted has been lost, or they were found immediately prior to Foster making his table, rendering their separate cataloguing pointless. In a footnote to Foster's completed catalogue as published in the 1891 *Old Records*, Birdwood notes that it contains "five documents ... not entered in my Report, Mr. Sainsbury's Calendar, or the Accountant-General's list" all the five he enumerates are in this category; most likely by mistake, he misses out two.[131]

The other notations of provenance that Foster uses are ""A.G.", "S", and "S.L.".

---

[128] IOR H/710, fol. 9^{v}, 17^{r}.
[129] IOR H/710, fol. 9^{v}.
[130] IOR H/710, fol. 17^{r}.
[131] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records*, p. 284.

"A.G." refers to the documents from the Accountant General's office, - the only documents, other than those from the "Book from Mr D's room" for which a manuscript catalogue does not survive, although the numbers in the copy in Birdwood's 1891 Appendix are accurately reflected in Foster's table.[132] "S." refers to Sainsbury's catalogue, and "S.L." to the sub-list of records that Sainsbury placed under the category of law.[133]

As the 'Parchment Records' table demonstrates, under Foster's care everything thus collected under various subcatalogues was noted, cross-referenced, and transferred into the new series. Foster went through both the Sainsbury catalogue and, for good measure, the Pratt catalogue, ticking off each record as it appeared in his own, and often noting its new number. The result was a series from which nothing had been lost, which amalgamated all of the surviving documents which reflected, in the views of the archivists, a granting of corporate sovereignty or power from the Crown to the Company. As records of the Company's constitutional origins, many of these documents had once been politically useful; now they were antiquarian relics, although relics with invocatory power. The only part of Foster's table which does not accord with any other document is the fourth column, "Location". These are identified from the second folio page onwards as belonging to "boxes". In the imaged page the documents are grouped by number: documents 1 to 9 in box 1, documents 10 to 21 in box 2, and 22 and 23 in box 3. There are seventeen boxes in all, to cover the 92

[132] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records*, pp. 282-283.

[133] Many of these records, in the end, were excised from Series A as more properly belonging to legal series. Items 1 and 15 on the imaged folio page, the deeds relating to property (and, in the case of item 1, the oldest known document in the IOR), were later transferred to IOR L/L/2: Law. (IOR L/L/2/294; IOR L/L/2/1348).

documents in Foster's table, and although they are largely consecutive there are exceptions: all the documents listed as being from the "Book from Mr D's room", for example, are in box 3 - indicating, perhaps, that they had not yet been disarticulated from whatever binding that "book" refers to. Like the chest in which the Parchment Records were first found, these boxes, so essential to the inner structure and disposition of the archive, have themselves disappeared from it.

iii: Conclusion

The fleeting appearance of the "boxes" in Foster's table exposes the inadequacy of attempting historical reconstructions of how archives are built: the processes involved are necessarily intimate, reclusive, and often themselves undocumented even where their aim has been to construct a record whose implicit claim is one to a totality of documentary knowledge of events. Regimes of order and organisation often come about through contingency and the inherited fragments of other regimes of order which they and their makers are either unaware of or cannot comprehend: the archival chaos that some generations of archivists see stretching out behind them is often a matter of perspective, or of epistemological incommensurability, where one era's regime is incomprehensible to another's. Regimes succeed each other, sometimes with incomprehension and sometimes with dialogue; they overlap and contest each other, and most regimes, through the process of inheritance, contain (knowingly or not) fragments of their predecessors. Materials, too (as I show in more detail in Chapter 5), exert their own resistance to ordering and classification, asserting structural logics and affinities that regimes of order may fail to counteract. But in attempting to reconstruct

how these things occur on a concrete and specific level, the historian always ends up confronting things that are mysterious and irresolvable, facts that are (barring the appearance of an unexpected piece of evidence) effectively lost: the boxes from Foster's notes, and the origin of the records kept in the trunk.

These are some of the conditions which enable claims to primal archival chaos such as Birdwood's and Kaye's. That claim to a pre-existing archival chaos enables, first, a claim to authority: the modern archivist brings order and expertise to darkness, and the materials of history could be assimilated, ordered, interpreted and explained in much the same ways as the world itself. The invocation, in the passage from Birdwood reproduced in my introduction, of "distinct ranges of cases" could be read as corresponding to the structured grammar into which Birdwood *et al* hope to arrange their materials: freed from previous arrangements by the assertion of lack of form, they are free to arrange the records in such a way as to perform the narrative called forth by their cultural moment. In some senses, the origin of the Parchment Records in their mysterious trunk is a windfall for this kind of archival practice and discourse: the trunk's unknown age and provenance and purpose, the very lack of any information as to why the documents should be in it, corroborates an articulation of the work of the archive as being the recovery of a lost narrative structure from the incomprehensibility into which it has fallen.

In this case, that narrative structure is a teleological one in which the venerated relics of past political and legal power foreshadow the extension of that power (conceived of as being the same power, unchanged over time) over the triumphant British Empire. But that triumph, being heroic, also has to involve elegy, and this

meshes neatly with present-moment anxiety and ambivalence: Birdwood seems to imagine that by placing an originary document of late seventeenth century bourgeois mercantilism at the very centre of Raj's power, he can effect some kind of renaissance of values which he feels are being lost or betrayed. Appendices A, C and D of the 1891 *Report* are the catalogues outlined above: Appendix B, however, is a reprint of Birdwood's introduction to Sir Henry Stevens' *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*,[134] a printed selection of EIC records from the early seventeenth century. Birdwood ends his introduction with a typically unselfconscious paean:

> Undying then should be our gratitude to the founders of the East India Company, for they were indeed the pioneers of the unparalleled colonial and mercantile prosperity of modern England: and we may be sure that wherever
> 'the strong hearts of her sons'
> are not borne down, as they have been, for well nigh a whole generation among ourselves, by the miserable sense of constantly reiterated public shame, but are kept up by the high hopes on which they are perennially nourished in the invincible Republic of the West, and in the proud dominions of the British Crown in the great South Sea, there the names of these middle class Elizabethan merchant adventurers, who so well understood, when occasion called, how by transgressing, most truly to keep the moral law, will be forever cherished and revered, as of "brave men, and worthy patriots dear to god, and famous to all ages".[135]

The bricolage of quotation here – Hastings Doyle's popular imperialist doggerel commemorating a soldier's (possibly mythical) refusal to kowtow to his Chinese captors, and Milton on the ideal education of boys – acts out in miniature the strategy of bringing seventeenth-century civic virtue and nineteenth-century imperial domination into dialogue that was arguably behind Birdwood's attempt to install the 1698 Roll of Subsrcibers in the Council Room; and also, perhaps, brings into close

[134] Stevens, *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, pp. ix-xxiv.
[135] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 280.

juxtaposition his anxious imperial politics and his conviction of the past's value as both a pedagogical tool and a source of instructive moral and political example.[136]

[136] Francis Hastings Boyle, 'The Private of the Buffs', in *The Return of the Guards, and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1866), pp. 105-107; John Milton, 'Of Education' [1644], in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. by Don M. Wolfe and others, 8 vols, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82), IV, p. 282.

Chapter 5.

"Just such a sack-full of torn papers": the Java Records, the Damaged Papers, and the creation of the IOR after 1875

The previous chapter showed how George Birdwood stage-managed the 'discovery' of the Parchment Records, shaping the event to capture the institutional will to inaugurate the creation of the IOR and install himself at the centre of the project. I emphasized the ways in which he mobilized a narrative of antiquarian recovery in which the materials of the past are redeemed from abject chaos by the enlightened ordering intelligence of imperial historiography. As the quantitative and structural analysis of Series A demonstrates, that ordering intelligence did relatively little to alter the existing form of the collection: the Parchment Records were in fact a survival of an earlier archival regime. Moreover, that regime had been in many respects more efficient and more comprehensive than many of those with a stake in the reordering of the records liked to acknowledge, despite the multiple physical and organisational disruptions of the transition from the EIC to the IO.

The same is the case with many of the records of the early Company; in some cases, however, the IO archivists' claims to having inherited disorganised material did to some extent correspond to the reality. Peter Pratt and other record keepers in the 1820s and 1830s had created several self-contained series and catalogues of seventeenth-century records, which Birdwood *et al* saw fit to leave largely untouched; the Original Correspondence being the major example in the older records. There were, however, still tranches of material, some catalogued by Pratt and some not, which the IO archivists decided to break up and reorganise; and there were some areas of the

archive which were still, to a large extent, unsorted and uncatalogued by anybody. To some extent, these collections justified the rhetoric of chaotic abjection which Birdwood *et al* found so useful. Many of these records ended up in Series G: Factory Records, a series which became an effective repository for material that might otherwise fail to find a home.

This chapter focuses on Series G, otherwise known as the Factory Records, to which much of this partially catalogued or uncatalogued material was assigned. In tracing how IOR personnel approached, assimilated and interpreted pre-existing catalogues, how they changed or destroyed catalogues they judged unsatisfactory, and how they assembled new catalogues of material for which no catalogues survived, I hope to illuminate ways in which the archival logic of reverential historiography dealt with marginal, dispersed and often recalcitrant material. I also study the Original Correspondence series (IOR E/3), a series which remained largely unchanged from its former disposition but which nonetheless had to be investigated and assimilated by the archive's new regime: this is the series transcribed in Danvers and Foster's *Letters Received*, and from which John Jourdain's letter, studied in Chapter 2, originates.[1] Where my previous chapter focuses on a very small area of the archive and a relatively limited series of interventions, this account is considerably broader: returning to the tropology of chaos, destruction and privileged recovery, I interrogate it in the light of the large scale destruction of records that occurred following the dissolution of the EIC and the IO's movement through different locations and organisational regimes. In order to highlight the problematic nature of the spatial logic of division which Birdwood and

[1] *Letters Received*; IOR E/3/2 fols 201^{r}-203^{v}. The letter is transcribed in full in Appendix A, pp. 324-332.

his staff ultimately settled upon, and to reduce the material to a manageable scope, I focus my investigation on the records relating to Java and its factories.

i: Destruction and disorder: the archive's trauma

In George Birdwood's 1891 volume *Old Records of the East India Company*, a footnote relates an anecdote of semi-miraculous recovery:

> When the Company's business was taken over by the Imperial Parliament in 1858, one of the first acts of the new masters of the India House in Leadenhall Street was to make a great sweep out of the old records that from 1726 had been preserved there with the utmost solicitude. They swept 300 tons of these records out to the Messrs. Spicer, paper makers, to be boiled, bleached, and bashed into low class paper pulp; and from one of the cartloads of them, on their way to the Messrs. Spicer's tanks, a paper was blown off by the wind, and picked up by a passer by, of whom, on my accidentally making his acquaintance some years afterwards, I purchased it for 5*l*. It is addressed, "To my loving friends the Governours and Company of the east India Merchants;" and endorsed, "November 28th, 1619. My Lord of Buckingham about resigning his interest in my lord of Warwick's goods. recd. dec. 1, 1619." ... The paper is sealed with the Duke's (Felton's man), own seal, the beautiful impression of which is as fresh as when made on the above November day, just two hundred and seventy years ago.[2]

The letter in question is from the royal favorite George Villiers (1592-1628), First Duke of Buckingham, and concerns a transfer of East India Company stock in 1619. Villiers'

[2] George Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 71. The occasion of the footnote is another mention of Villiers in a section on similar miscellaneous Home Establishment letters. Villiers dealt with the EIC in the capacity of Lord Admiral, claimant of prize money from Portuguese ships, representative of an occasionally generous, occasionally hostile and usually cash-strapped court, and as a private investor: see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution,* pp. 224-225; Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981), pp. 183-184, p. 212. Birdwood mentions his assassin John Felton three times in total, and his interest in Buckingham seems largely bound up in his assassination as a political event. Whether Birdwood's largely Whiggish ideological commitments include an interest in Felton - lionized in his own time by Parliamentarians and anti-monarchists - is hard to pin down, given the range and idiosyncrasy of his historical interests and the fact that this is the only time (to my knowledge) that either figure appears in his writing.

relations with the EIC were complex and often strained, and the record of this and similar transactions are of interest in investigating the fiscal policy of James I, the financial links between court and City and the ways in which wealthy individuals negotiated these relations for personal and professional benefit.[3] This is of little evident interest to Birdwood. The document is not mentioned again in any of his writings, and the anecdote is only the first of many digressive asides in a book which he avers from the start "really is nothing more than a cursory descriptive index". The tropes invoked are familiar from his work on the Parchment Records. There is the customary excoriation of the "new masters" of the IO, their bureaucratic philistinism and betrayal of a heritage - with, this time, a more explicit defence of the archiving work of the EIC than Birdwood was prepared to offer in his memoranda of 1875. Perhaps the trope's repetition, and its use here, had sharpened it into a brighter contrast between the EIC and the IO; perhaps Birdwood felt more confident in his position and more able to offer the kind of critique that he would later give in the final pages of *Relics of the East India Company*. Perhaps, too, his experience of the early records since 1875 had conceived in him a serious admiration for the scale and apparent comprehensiveness of the work undertaken by Wilks, Pratt *et al*. Villiers' usefulness for Birdwood apparently consists in the lustre of his name and the antiquarian fetish of his seal, whose preservation enhances the miraculous aura of the discovery and invokes, as in the 1875 memoranda and *Relics*, the sense of the archive as reliquary, a sacralized space for the veneration of the artefacts of the past. In contradistinction to that, there are the virtuous archivist's enemies: official ignorance and apathy, the present's failure to honour the past, and the

[3] Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 51-91.

omnipresent threat of losing historical material to oblivion on a terrifying scale – history and knowledge measurable in weight, in materials all-to-easily returned (boiled, bleached, bashed) into pulp. There is the general despair that follows naturally from antiquarianism itself, from the impossibility of any true recovery of the past and the irrevocability of loss. There seems to be some recognition, too, of the double-edged thrill of archival discovery: the serendipity of the document saved from oblivion counterbalanced by the appalling odds of it ever having survived at all.

Gathered at second hand from the unnamed "passer-by", and relegated to the fragmentary interjection of a footnote, the tale also partakes of the exceptionality of the anecdote. Its isolation, its oddity and its insistence on serendipity make it disclaimable as an assertion that real systemic harm was done to the early records after 1858. Stopping short of any specific historical claim, it is rather an articulation (or fabrication) of a foundational trauma against which Birdwood can define his archival credo and claim to authority. Indeed, the destruction of records that took place from 1858 to 1861, and the disruption of the years of transition, would be invoked repeatedly by Birdwood and his accomplices and successors, both as a deplorable event in itself and as a symbol of all the forces of destruction, disorder and and forgetting against which they saw themselves as struggling in their archival practice - albeit with different and often muted emphasis, and in more specific and qualified ways than Birdwood. Clements Markham, advertising his own work in the Geographical Department, advances a similar narrative:

> The care of records and conduct of geographical business required departmental agency for its efficient discharge. None was furnished. All geographical work ceased to be performed; the records were lost or left to rot, and even the

> correspondence book was destroyed. … [M]aps, journals, and other records had been cast aside to rot and perish. Those which were not lost were frayed and dust-stained, and finally a quantity were sold as waste paper. Ancient journals of great navigators, abstracts of which alone exist in the Pilgrims of Purchas, have disappeared... [4]

This is, of course, inserted within a heroic narrative of the work done under his own supervision in turning these abused remnants into a modern, complete and referenceable geographical and hydrographical archive.[5]

Birdwood is correct about the sheer quantity of paper disposed of, however. In the years before the events of 1857 and the subsequent dissolution of the Company's home establishment, there is evidence of the storage space at Leadenhall Street being under some strain. Surveyor's records from 1853 onwards record the difficulties of accommodating the archives within a building which had been growing and adapting haphazardly since its opening in 1729.[6] In 1853 there were difficulties with managing all the records stored in the basement, and making sure that the environment is suitable for the archival holdings;[7] in 1856 Clements Markham, already in charge of the Marine Records, was directed to move them from their storage place in a disused tea auction room. [8] Such problems only intensified with the frenetic activity of 1858-9.[9] With the dissolution of the home establishment at Leadenhall Street and the Board of Control at Cannon Row, there were successive mass disposals of documents judged useless, the timings of which were often forced by the disorganization and overcrowding

---

[4] Clements R. Markham, *Memoir on the Indian Surveys* (London: W.H. Allen, 1871), p. 281, p. 283.
[5] Markham, *Memoir*, pp. 271-301.
[6] Foster, *The East India House*, pp. 136-154.
[7] IOR L/SUR/2/1, fols 83-84; fols 143-144; fols 197-199; fols 229-230; fols 359-64; fols 485-489.
[8] IOR L/SUR/2/2, fols 103-106.
[9] L/SUR/6/1, fol. 23, fol. 30 relates to basement storage during the last months at Leadenhall Street. See also L/SUR/2/2, fols 336-343, fols 385-386.

occasioned by the reorganization of the office and warehouse spaces in which the records had been stored. Danvers' introduction to his 1888 catalogue notes the larger disposals:

> ...[T]here existed a quantity of miscellaneous papers belonging to the Secretary's office, which had been accumulating for a period of thirty years, "which neither are, nor ever could be, of any use whatever" together with "a quantity of warehouse books and documents of a miscellaneous character, such as sale books, appearance books, catalogues, &c., not any of which have been referred to during the past twenty years" These were accordingly ordered to be sold, and over 21 tons of documents were disposed of as waste paper, and realized 158*l*. 0s. 10d.
> ...In 1859, in consequence of certain warehouse room in Bew Street, in which the bulk of the Records were then kept,[10] being required by the Store Keeper General, 31 cart loads, comprising in all about 20,000 volumes, were removed thence to the cellars in Leadenhall Street. In the same year (Rev., jud., leg. comm. minute 13/5/1859) there was a further sale of nearly two tons of documents as waste paper". [11]

In February 1860, in preparation for the IO's move to the Westminster Palace Hotel, Sir Charles Wood, the Parliamentary Secretary of State ordered all "useless records", from both Company and Board to be destroyed. An *ad hoc* committee was formed to oversee the disposal, and issued orders for the sale as waste paper of 317 tons, realised at 15s. per ton, totalling £3,095.[12] Danvers, whose knowledge of the archive's logistics was more detailed than Birdwood's, was both more pragmatic about the necessity of disposal and more aware of where it may actually have impinged upon historical records. He notes that destruction continued after the move to the permanent IO, and

---

[10] The records Danvers refers to here are those of the Board of Control rather than the Company.
[11] Frederick Charles Danvers, *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Records in the India Office, Vol. 1 Part 1. Records relating to agencies, factories and settlements not now under the administration of the Government of India* (London: HMSO, 1887: repr. 1888), pp. 3-4. Henceforth referred to as Danvers, *Report* (1888) to avoid ambiguity.
[12] Danvers, *Report* (1888), pp. 4-5; see also the entirety of Home Miscellaneous vol. 722 (IOR H/722), with collects many of the documents relating to disposal of documents from 1858 to 1880.

expresses regret that some documents may have been destroyed that he wishes had not been; at the same time, he recommends that destruction continue in the case of duplicates and triplicates. Foster, too, evinces no particular opinion about the disposal, merely noting its occurrence in his customarily affectless style.[13] This difference is partially accounted for by the cultural divide detailed in the preceding chapter between the flamboyant personal style of Birdwood's generation and the drier, less affective style of the bureaucratic culture nurtured by the likes of Mallet and Godley: unlike Birdwood, Kaye, Bartle Frere or Markham, neither Danvers nor Foster ever worked outside Europe, and rarely outside the IO. Moreover, neither of them had any particular stake in the narrative of wanton destruction, as Birdwood and Markham did. The destruction, then, was partly spasmodic and hasty, and partly organised; and while the bulk of it occurred in the chaotic years of 1858-1860, it was also an ongoing project. As Birdwood's anecdote obliquely suggests, we cannot know how many early records were lost in the major disposals, for the precise reason that they no longer exist. Possible losses can only be guessed at where pre-1858 catalogues fail to match the documents available. A single sheet of notepaper, headed "Missing", is collated in Home Miscellaneous vol. 710 before the cover slip of the Damaged Papers catalogue, signed illegibly and dated 1881, notes a surprisingly large number of documents mentioned in the catalogue which had not yet been located by that date.[14] Unlike the Damaged Papers, which were kept in a combination of bundles, leather wallets and volumes,[15] the Original Correspondence series was securely and uniformly bound, and

[13] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. vii.
[14] IOR H/710, fol. 18^{r}. It is not impossible that some turned up subsequently, as a steady, if very small, trickle of documents continued to flow into the early records until well into the twentieth century.
[15] Birdwood, *Guide to the Old Records* (1891), pp. 67-82.

appears to have suffered no significant wastage of documents during the archive's purges and migrations. Pratt's catalogue of 1835 notes letters that had gone missing presumably during their being first catalogued and assembled for binding (and these missing letters are noted in *Letters Received* and the present catalogue of IOR E/3), but all 72 volumes were bound by the time the catalogue was dated.

ii: Danvers and Foster: archival inheritors

As my introduction makes clear, the creation of the IOR, like that of any state archive, was a complex process to which many actors contribued in ways determined by culture, structure, ideology, and accident. Danvers and Foster, however, dominate the process in a more tangible way than anyone except Birdwood: in some respects more tangible, as they undertook much of the work that he directed, and it is their handwriting - Foster's especially - that appears throughout the 'archive's archive', and that adds the uppermost layer of palimpsestic intervention on the leaves of the older records.

The fact that Danvers and Foster dominate the archive (and discussions of it) less forcefully than Birdwood may be a matter of personality, platform and acculturation. As we have seen, the personality performed in Birdwood's writing - vatic, aggrieved, flamboyant, digressive and slightly unhinged - derives from certain definable traditions. Those traditions are Jonesian Orientalism, antiquarianism (which, in Levine's suggested division between 'antiquarianism' and 'history', is subjective, emotive, descriptive rather than quantitative and amateur rather than professional), the arts and crafts movement, and Company paternalism; all of which are grafted to a

Mullerian racial theory and a growing geopolitical consciousness.[16] The fact that he was able to articulate this through his work, as the 1891 *Report* amply demonstrates, testifies to some of the features of the old Company culture that Williams and Kaminsky identify: the inseparability of work from the performance of a social, cultural and political persona, the primacy of personal credit over professional qualification, and the cultivation of eccentric individuality within the space of work.[17] Danvers and Foster, whilst acknowledging investments in certain aspects of this culture, are products of the professionalizing tendency in the IO and government at large which is outlined in the previous chapter: the emphases of their work culture are bureaucratic functionality, routinization, and an increasing alienation (however fictitious the divide might be in actuality) between work and the social self.[18] Arguably, too, both the later archivists joined an archival process that was already in train: even disregarding the institutional energies in whose flow he so adroitly placed himself, and even had he not already been so inclined, Birdwood would have needed to exert a considerable force of personality in capturing the job of beginning the work of archivization and defining its direction.

In studying how this cultural divide manifested itself within the IO, both Williams and Kaminsky note the symbolic importance of whether a man had ever served in India. Neither Danvers nor Foster had; both were civil servants who rarely left the IO establishment throughout their careers. Frederick Charles Danvers (1833-1906) was from an EIC family - his father was an officer of the Company - and was

[16] Levine, *Amateur and Professional*, pp. 173-174.
[17] Williams, *The India Office*, pp. 460-464; Kaminsky, pp. 49-56.
[18] For some contextualization of this process within government, see the discussion of professionalization in Chapter 3, pp. 130-132.

educated at King's College, London, and the East India Military College at Addiscombe, Surrey, but then studied civil and mechanical engineering rather than seeing overseas service. He joined the clerical establishment at Leadenhall Street in 1853, and became a junior clerk in the Public and Ecclesiastical Department of the IO in 1858, later transferring to the Public Works Department in 1861, where he became a senior clerk in 1867 and Assistant Secretary in 1875. By 1877, when he joined the Revenue and Statistics Department just as Birdwood was engaged in his first survey of the Old Records, he had built a reputation as a prolific writer on engineering subjects - he had been busy since the 1860s in engineering matters, assessing the fitness of traction engines for use in-country and proposing a tunnel beneath the Hugli - and broader subjects including civil affairs, famine, minerals, and statistics. In 1884 he was nominated Registrar and Superintendent of Records, and (by his own account) located the First Letter Book. Thereafter he was at the centre of the work of building the archive until his retirement in 1898. Apart from overseeing the consolidation of the archive and the creation of the Factory Records, his major achievements included work in foreign archives: he spent much of the years 1891-5 engaged in searching state archives in Lisbon and The Hague and compiling catalogues and histories of Portuguese and Dutch activities in the East.[19]

Despite being effectively in charge of the IOR for much of the critical period of its creation, Danvers is an elusive presence in the archive. His activities seem to have been mostly managerial: although expenses and instructions generally move through

[19] Robert Sharp, 'Danvers, Frederick Charles (1833–1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32709> [accessed 3 Nov 2012].

him, his handwriting crops up rarely in the Home Miscellaneous volumes that collate the paper trail of archival reorganisation, and very rarely in the many script interventions in early archival materials themselves. It does appear in the copies of contemporary printed catalogues preserved in the IO collections and the British Library, occasionally supplying clarifications or minor corrections to lists whose production he oversaw.[20] An active member of the Royal Statistical Society, he seems to have viewed the archive as an active part of an ongoing project. In discussing the destruction of unwanted records, for example, he writes:

> ...there exist many documents in duplicate, and sometimes in triplicate, of which not more than one copy is needed for official purposes. I believe that, upon further investigation, it will be found that considerable clearances can be made from many of the shelves of his Dept. Where space is so valuable, as it is in this Office, it seems undesirable to retain anything that can be safely dispensed with, but in no case do I contemplate the destruction, or disposal otherwise, of documents without first reporting on the subject and requesting instructions."[21]

The language of routinized bureaucracy in this passage is vivid: the use of the passive voice, the abasement of the self as anything except a submitter of reports and recipient of instructions, and the elision of the agency that would dispense those instructions - as if the agency itself did not matter, or did not need to be named. The voice is that of a conscientious civil servant. Moreover, the attitude towards the archive itself stands in apparent contrast to Birdwood's reverential rhetoric and musaeological instincts: it is conceived here not as a space of fetishistic preservation, but rather as a repository of

[20] See, for example, the BL copy of the initial 1887 edition of Danvers' *Report*, in which Danvers himself has made some minor textual emendations and additions (which were not, it might be added, included in the 1888 reprint).
[21] Danvers, *Report* (1888), p. 17.

documents that retain a present and future use-value. Danvers delivered papers to the Royal Statistical Society on, amongst other things, the statistical usefulness of the IOR's historical records: he shared with Clements Markham a conviction of the archive as a space in which the materials of the past might be mobilised, not only as part of a historical discourse, but as active intelligence and knowledge, in the service of an imperial present and future.[22]

How Danvers personally envisaged that future is the subject of two books he wrote in his later career. In *The Covenant, or, Jacob's Heritage*, and *Israel Redivivus*, he subscribes - at length, and with suffocating pedantry - to the world-historical theory of the Anglo-Israel Society, in which the English nation is identified with the lost tribe of Israel and entrusted with the duty of bringing about an apocalyptic new dispensation.[23] In Danvers' hands this mission is explicitly racial and imperial. He subscribes to an orthodox Müllerian Aryanism not unlike Birdwood's, and engages in similarly paranoiac philological exercises in proving improbable linkages through etymology: for instance, proving by way of phonetic similarities between Celtic languages and Hebrew, and Sir Walter Scott's commentary on "druidical" carvings, that

[22] See, for example, his 'Review of Indian Statistics', a paper presented in 1901 and published in the Society's journal, which concludes that the statisical; record since the 1840s proves that "the progress of that Empire during the past sixty years has been without parallel. If this progress has from time to time been checked by occasional wars, these have resulted in bringing further territories within the benign influence of the *Pax Britannica*; if the country has periodically been thrown backwards by local recurrences of famine and disease, these have been instrumental in bringing into prominence the benevolence and liberality of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the masterful resources of the Indian Governments to combat those evils…" (F. C. Danvers, 'A Review of Indian Statistics', in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 64 (1901), 31-72 (p. 55).)

[23] Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Covenant: or, Jacob's Heritage. Being an Examination into Circumstances Connected with Ancient Israel, with England, and with Other Leading Nations of the Present Day* (London: William Henry Guest, 1877); Danvers, *Israel Redivivus: Being a History of the Tribes of Israel, Distinct from that of Judah, from the Times when the Biblical Accounts of them Came to an End* (London: Robert Banks & Son, 1905).

the Stone of Scone can be traced to Genesis. [24] Throughout these works he makes extensive use of statistics, reproducing sections of returns of national births, deaths and marriages, aboriginal population figures, and statistics on colonial missionaries and proselytising organisations.[25] He also explicitly names the EIC as an agent of prophecy's fulfilment:

> This Company laid the foundation of England's greatness and power in the East, and by it the first steps were taken that have since so strangely resulted in the possession by England of 'the heritage of the heathen,' and of sovereign rulership over many kings. At the commencement of James the First's reign, also, England began 'to break forth on the right hand and on the left,' and her sons began to seek the waste places of the Earth to dwell in... How all these events which followed one another in succession after the completion of the second prophetic day of Hosea have been gradually growing and increasing in their results and effects towards the establishment of the most mighty and gigantic Empire that the world has ever yet seen, has already been shown in the preceding pages.[26]

How much any of this has to do with Danvers' actual physical and historiographical labours is open to question: the fantasy of the archive and the secular work of the IOR share few real points of contact. Unlike Birdwood, Danvers seems more than capable of separating his visionary tendencies from his day-job, even if, when afforded an appropriate forum, he leaves no division between them.

William Foster (1863-1951) left no evidence of any similar commitments. A beneficiary of the Civil Service open examinations system who entered the IO in 1882

---

[24] Danvers, *The Covenant*, pp. 148-149, pp. 226-227. *Israel Redivivus* develops the theme to include the Greeks as progenitors of the Anglo-Saxon race on account of their colonial propensities (and rendering them Jewish in the process), prophesying the reunion of the United States with the British Empire, and excluding the Germans from the fellowship of Teutonic virtue: "...from Caesar and Tacitus to Charlemagne, that is to say, during eight centuries, Germany has given the spectacle, so rare in civilization, of a country absolutely stationary, always barbarous, always hostile to the civilization which flourished near it." (*Israel Redivivus*, pp. 286-287).

[25] Danvers, *The Covenant*, pp. 163-167.

[26] Danvers, *The Covenant*, pp. 225-226.

aged 19, he began his career as a second-class clerk under Danvers, and then became an assistant in the Statistics and Commerce department, with special responsibility for records - although still essentially working entirely for Danvers, who had become head of the new Registry and Records Department in 1884. He was also something of a protegée of Birdwood, with whom he had become friendly shortly after his arrival at the IO, and he would spend the rest of his professional life in the IOR It is his handwriting that dominates in the archives (see, for example, the catalogue of Parchment Records reproduced in Appendix B, pp. 342-343). He was nominated Assistant Registrar of the Records under Arthur Wollaston in 1901, and succeeded him as Registrar and Superintendent of Records. On his retirement in 1923, aged sixty, he was retained for five years as official Historiographer - putting him in a lineage, however much the post's meaning might have changed, with Hakluyt, Purchas, Orme and Bruce. His output of scholarly articles, letters, papers and books on the historical materials of British India and the EIC was prolific: he was active in the Hakluyt Society and published eight volumes of 'journals' under its imprint, taking his materials largely from the IOR old records.[27] In terms of his historiographical practice, he can be seen as curating, in a non-interventionist way, a historiographical narrative he inherited largely from his predecessors. In none of his writings is he given to effusions on imperial subjects, but rather focuses on wringing the maximum possible yield out of his materials: Anthony Farrington notes in the introduction to his exhaustive bibliography that, "[f]or instance, a brief catalogue entry for a painting of the wreck of the *Sussex* East Indiaman led to three articles, and, on another subject, he could follow

[27] Anthony Farrington, *Sir William Foster 1863-1951: A Bibliography,* IOLR Occasional Publications, 1 (London: IOLR, 1972), pp. 1-9.

up a contribution to *Notes and Queries* in 1900 with a second instalment in 1950."[28] All his writings, however, are more or less void of any strong opinions or affectual content regarding the history they deal with, beyond a rote mild chauvinism. Farrington's comment about the fifty-year gap is perceptive, as he seems to manifest no particular responsivity, in what remains of his work, to his own historical time, and his writing of the nineteenth century is indistinguishable from that produced after the Second World War. His manufacture of a vigorous boyhood for his subject in *The Journal of John Jourdain*, noted in Chapter 1, and his impatience with Nicholas Downton's floridly expressive epistolary style – leading him to quote a critical colleague who "sneered at his 'plenteous formality of words'" – articulate certain commonplace positions *vis-à-vis* gender and imperial identity.[29] Otherwise, he is something of a blank; except that, more than Birdwood, Danvers or Wollaston (whose personal impact in the IOR's older records seems to have been relatively negligible),[30] he dominates the archive: his mark is everywhere in it.

iii: The Java Records

As I note in Chapter 2, the EIC factories in Java comprised a major node of the Company's complex trading network. The first English factory on Java was established

[28] Farrington, *Sir William Foster*, p. 2.

[29] See Foster, *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-15, As Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 82 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1939), p. xv.

[30] Wollaston worked extensively in Series G, but never, as far as can be traced, with any seventeenth century materials within that series. The press lists he compiled for consultation and proceedings at Bombay and Madras begin in 1702, and those for Bengal in 1794; most of his cataloguing work concerned the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. He was later involved in a consultant capacity in volumes 4, 5 and 6 of *Letters Received*.

at Bantam (Banten) in 1602, and the second at Jakarta in 1618. Between them, and despite fluctuating fortunes in both cases, the two factories were to be perhaps the most important trading posts of the EIC until 1682.[31] This was a matter largely of economic geography: Bantam commands the Straits of Sunda, which form a natural gateway to the Eastern archipelago from which the Company sourced its spices. The factory was well positioned for the arrival of ships following the spring monsoon from the Cape: indeed, when the area was first explored, Portuguese naval dominance around the *Carreira* route meant that Dutch and English ships had little choice but to do so. Oncethe Portuguese threat had receded, Bantam became the eatern apex of the broadly triangular trade which the EIC ran between London, India and the archipelago.[32]

Bantam itself was also a major established trading port, and had been so long before European arrival: since the fourteenth century, a series of Muslim city-state princes had encouraged its development as a cosmopolitan entrepôt with a large Chinese population, connecting the natural products of the Archipelago and luxury manufactures from continental East Asia with the littoral, archipelagic and oceanic trades of the Indian Ocean, in a complex network which connected East Africa, Persia, Arabia, the Middle East, India, South-East Asia, China and Japan. Long before an English trading post at Bantam was ever projected, Chinese silks and Sumatran pepper passed through Bantam *en route* to England by way of the Levant.[33] The Company, and even more so its factors acting independently, had every interest in infiltrating pre-

[31] The most exhaustive history of the Bantam factory can be found in D. K. Bassett, 'The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam, 1602-1682' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1955). Danvers' 1888 *Report* (pp. 19-46) devotes an essay to the history of Java up to the 1814 restoration to the Dutch, with special reference to the early records.
[32] Chaudhury, pp. 16-18.
[33] Das Gupta, 'The Maritime Trade of Indonesia', pp. 100-101.

existing trade networks and taking advantage of Bantam's immense throughflow of material and human capital.

This natural centrality within both established and developing trading networks made the Java factories natural candidates for the control of the whole eastward arm of the Company's activities, and from 1614 to 1682 one or another of them continuously held the Presidency for the area. For most of the period the Presidency was established at Bantam: although Jourdain was the first chief factor there to be accorded the duties and privileges of the position in 1614/15, the title seems to have first been truly applicable to George Berkeley from 1616, and first used in earnest by George Ball in 1617-18.[34] The progress of the Presidency over the course of the next few decades was to be something of an object lesson in the precariousness of the EIC's operations: consistently harassed by the Dutch and subject to the ever-fluctuating whims of the Pangeran (the Muslim ruler of the Bantanese state) the EIC would be forced to withdraw from Bantam to Jakarta in 1620, where they coexisted uneasily with the traders of the VOC who had already established themselves there.[35] In late 1624, following the breakdown of relations with the Dutch consequent upon the Amboina massacre, the EIC attempted to establish a new presidency on a small outlying island near the Straits of Sunda: defeated by disease and ruinous levels of mortality, they returned to Jakarta within months, where they were forced to wait until 1628 for relations with the Bantanese court to improve to the point at which they could return there. There they continued more or less uninterrupted, through three officially-declared Anglo-Dutch wars and considerable fluctuations in fortunes, until in April

[34] Bassett, 'The Factory of the English East India Company', p. 29.
[35] Chaudhury, pp. 39-49.

1682, having backed the wrong side in a civil war between an outgoing Pangeran and his son (in which, more to the point, the Dutch backed the winning side), they found themselves ignominiously ejected.[36] Thereafter, with the VOC established as the major regional imperial power, and much of the area coming under direct Dutch colonial control centred in Jacarta, the EIC concentrated most of their attention sin the Subcontinent, keeping one major factory at Fort Saint George / Bencoolen (Bengkulu).[37] They would not return to Java until 1811, when the island was seized during the Napoleonic wars and placed under the governorshiop of Stamford Raffles, before being handed back in 1814 under the terms of the treaty of Paris.[38]

The presidency system, developed (not coincidentally) at roughly the same time as the first joint-stock in 1614, was essentially a logistical solution to the problem of controlling a burgeoning trading network across an enormous sea area, a method of centralising control and ensuring a unified strategy.[39] Instructions from London were dependent on the annual cycle of wind and sailing seasons, and at the best of times would take about six months to reach Java: the average time that would elapse between the EIC's proprietors sending out correspondence and receiving any reply to it was roughly eighteen months: on smaller timescales, trusted agents needed to be on the ground to make their own decisions. The chief factor or president at Bantam or Jakarta would effectively have command of the Company's operations across the Indian Ocean, from Surat around the coastal factories of India, Bengal and Burma, down to Bantam:

---

[36] Bassett, 'The Factory of the English East India Company',pp. 416-419; Stern, *The Company-State,* pp. 70-73.
[37] Bassett,'The Factory of the English East India Company', pp. 442-446.
[38] Danvers, *Report,* pp. 38-39.
[39] Chaudhury, pp. 39-49.

and then beyond, into the archipelago and out into the South China Sea and the Pacific, from Borneo, Celebes, Bali, the Moluccas and the Bandas, and northward and eastward as far as Siam, Tonkin, Cochin-China, Macao and Japan. Subsidiary factories were established throughout these locales within the first years of the EIC's establishment at Bantam, with varying degrees of success and permanence, and much of the business of the Java factories was to manage trade within this new archipelagic network, sourcing the materials to be sent to London and simultaneously finding ways to infiltrate the 'country' trade.[40] A glance at John Jourdain's 1615 letter from Bantam (transcribed in Appendix A, pp. 324-332) illustrates the extent to which this was the case: he mentiones the Company's ships sailing to or from "Pottany" (Patani, in Sumatra), " Amboina" (Ambon), "pryaman" (Priaman), Makassar, the Banda islands, and "Succadana" (Sukadana, in Borneo).[41] At the time he wrote the letter, the only one of the above listed places without some kind of English settlement was the Banda islands, which were still nominally under the sway of the Dutch, although troubled by native resistance which Jourdain and his colleagues were quietly encouraging.[42] Many of his concerns are with gathering enough pepper and cloves from outlying factories such as Priaman and Sukadana while the westward sailing season lasts, and the logistical and financial problems accruing from that – note the building of a pinnace, the plan to replace lost labour with black slaves, and the evident confusion over whether to charge certain loads of mercandise to the separately-financed voyages or the joint stock, both of which were operating during this transitional period. He also, however, indicates an

[40] Bassett, 'The Factory of the English East India Company', pp. 29-38.
[41] E/3/2, fols 201^{r}-203^{v}.
[42] Bassett, 'The Factory of the English East India Company', pp. 42-29.

involvement in a rather more plural trading world, in which the *Darling*'s voyage to Sukadana and Patani is not only for cloves but also for "Lankeen | silke [bought] of the China Junckes";[43] rice bought at Makassar can be traded in the Bandas for cloves;[44] Borneo holds out hope of supplying bezoar stones and diamonds in return for the cloth the Company has to sell; and Jourdain expresses an intention to open a factory at Timor, where his intelligence suggests there is sandalwood to be had.[45]

The kind of documentation that would pass from Bantam back to London were as complex as the network which produced them. Factory "consultations" were, by the 1610s, beginning to gain some definition as a documentary technology; consisting essentially of the minutes of meetings of factors, their deliberations and resolutions, and signed by all rpesent in accordance with the EIC's usual practices of multiple witnessing and underwriting, they increasingly began to be recorded in dedicated volumes through the second and third decades of the Company's activities. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Consultations would become a major documentary regime in their own right, recording the official life of static establishments in much the same way as the early journals recorded the progress of moving ships. During the first decades of improvisation and instability, however, iut is unusual to find complete volumes in which consultations are marked and dated: rather, most documentation appears to have been sent to London in "pacquetts", usually accompanied by a long report-letter such as Jourdain's. These would include the documentation of subordinate factories, copies or originals of correspondence, accounts, wills and personal papers of

[43] IOR E/3/2, fol. 201^{v}.
[44] IOR E/3/2, fols 201^{v}-202^{r}.
[45] IOR E/3/2, fol 202^{v}.

deceased merchants, and bills of lading; anything, in fact, that was for the Company's eyes. Essentially, the Java factories were the clearing-house of documentation heading in either direction from London; and where, and in what circumstances, that documentation had been produced is often unclear. The ways in which the records the came back through the Java factories – products of unstable, contingent and mobile circumstances, and a documentary culture clearly in the process of evolving towards encompassing new context – were catalogued, classified and rearranged in the IOR is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

Of the current Java records series (IOR G/21), only the first 11 shelfmarks of the Java Records directly concern the Seventeenth Century. These are:

IOR G/21/1	"A Statement of the States and Princes in the Eastern Seas with whom the Dutch appear at any time to have had connection...": a political briefing, produced in 1818;
IOR G/21/2	folio volumes of collected documents relating to "Controversies" between the EIC and VOC between 1622 and 1685;
IOR G/21/3	Three folio volumes of consultation books from the Bantam factory, dating from 1671 to 1680;
IOR G/21/4	A single folio volume of abstracts of letters to and from the Bantam Factory between 1664 and 1675;
IOR G/21/4A	A quarto annexe to G/21/4;
IOR G/21/5	A single folio volume from the Bantam Factory, dated 1664-1670, featuring consultations and copies of letters sent and received;
IOR G/21/6A	A single folio volume of letters (originals, duplicates and digests), consultations, and assorted documents relating to the Bantam factory, dated 1671-1679;

IOR G/21/6B	A single folio volume collating a similar range of documentation, mostly from pre-existing volumes bound together, as G/21/6A; covering dates 1682-1702;
IOR G/21/7	"Transcripts from the Archives at the Hague": a single volume of Danver's transcripts from his time in Holland in 1895;
IOR G/21/7A	Single folio volume of collected letters (originals) received at Bantam 1674-1683;
IOR G/21/8	"Transactions between the English and Dutch Commissioners, 1 Oct 1684 to 22 June 1686": a collection of letters relating to the Conference of London following the Second Anglo-Dutch War.

Of eleven shelfmarks and sixteen volumes, then, only seven shelfmarks and nine volumes are what one might properly call factory records; i.e., documents accruing from the actual business of an EIC factory. The remainder are records relating to the Dutch, some with more and some with less connections to Bantam. I will deal with these first.

G/21/1 is one of the most attractive volumes in the IOR. Birdwood (1889) lists it amongst the "Five additional volumes, not in any previous list" in the Third Division (Foreign relations), section U, "The Dutch in the East", and comments: "*This is an invaluable volume*"[italics his].[46] Its full title, written on the first page in carefully decorative early nineteenth century script, is:

> A Statement of the States and Princes in the Eastern Seas with whom the Dutch appear at any time to have had connection; showing the nature and extent of that Connection, Compiled chiefly from two Volumes of Copies and Abstracts of Treaties, bearing dates from the Year 1596 to 1795, which were extracted from the Dutch Records at Batavia by a Committee specially appointed by the late British Government for that purpose, & transmitted by the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors, in 1818*; together with such collateral information as has been collected from the earlier Records of the East India

[46] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 54.

Company or from other Authorities[47]

What follows is an itemized survey of the entire strategic theatre of the eastern Indian Ocean and Western Pacific, divided by geographical space according to an alphabetical index running along the pages' outer edge: A (Java); B (Moluccas, Bandas &c); C (Borneo &ca); D (Sumatra & Islands Adjacent); E (Malayah Peninsula); F (Phillippines); G (Formosa and Chinese Coast). The text is dense and detailed, making extensive use of transcriptions and translations of treaty documents and items from the Dutch archives. There are detailed maps for every area, several of them on folded leaves which can be pulled out. These maps themselves are gorgeously done, with particular attention paid to aesthetic effect: islands are outlined in rich colours and decorated with cartoon trees; settlements consist of tiny houses clustering around ports or forts; the national flag of each fort or factory flies above it, coloured exactingly. There is lavish use of gold leaf and exuberant draughtsmanship: in a cartographic *jeu d'esprit*, the volcanic peak of Goenong Api is portrayed mid-eruption.

[47] IOR G/21/1, fol. 1[r].

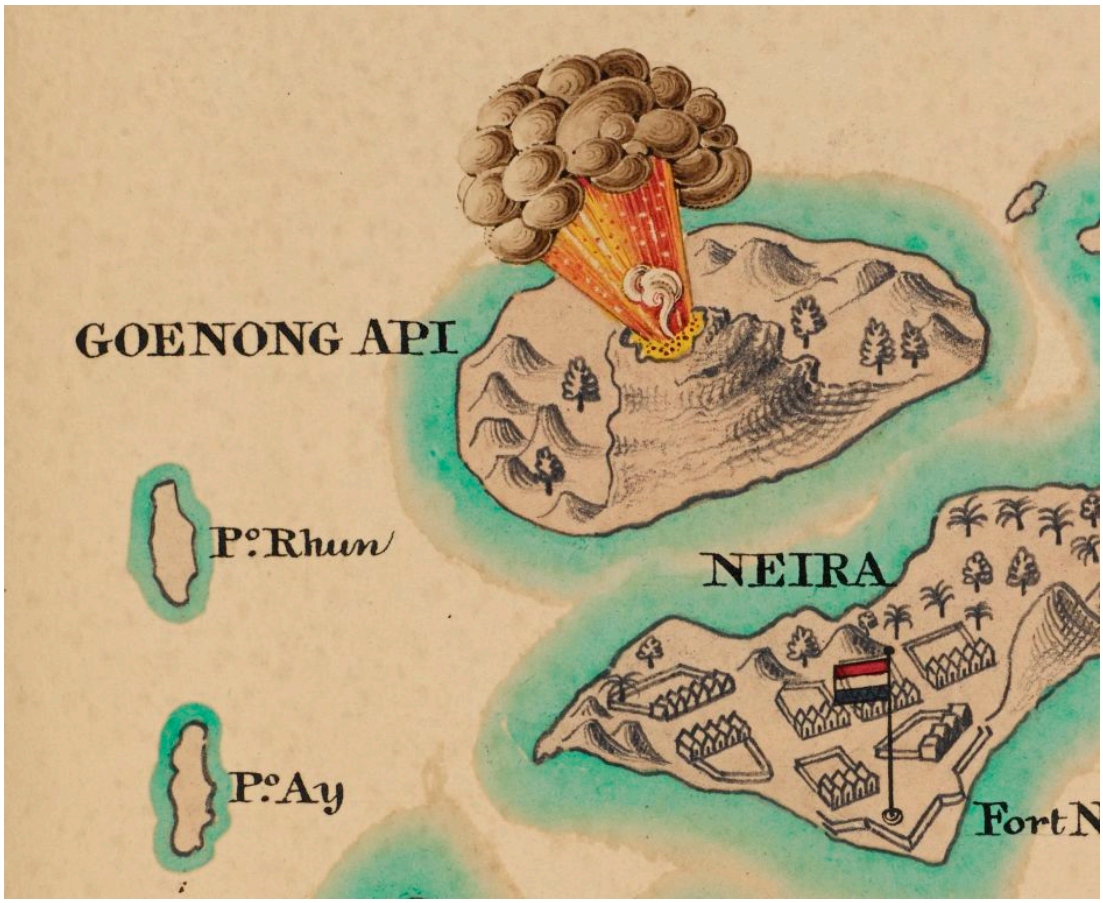


Fig. 7 G/21/1 fol. 151[r] (detail)

A full image of this leaf is reproduced in Appendix C, p. 347.

Beyond a certain default magnificence of style to which the Company's trials of the late eighteenth century were supposed to have put paid (but had not),[48] the precise purpose of all this extravagant display is unclear. A certain triumphalism on the part of the Directors might be understandable, given the volume's primary genesis: as the title indicates, much of the intelligence within it is derived from the Dutch archives in Batavia, which the British had carefully ransacked during the occupation of Java

[48] Lawson, pp. 119-120.

between 1811 and 1816.[49] This was part of a sustained and serious program of intelligence-gathering concerning potential territorial claims against the Dutch amidst the jockeying for imperial position following the end of the Napoleonic wars.[50] Pressing potential territorial claims necessarily involved a fuller understanding of the history of relations between the English and Dutch companies, and of the complex political geographies of the archipelago amongst which they moved. Indeed, the urgent need for this kind of research was a factor in expanding the establishment of Pratt and his staff.[51] In this case, Pratt's work in the archive can be seen as part of a development whereby the bureaucratic state required ever more specific and exacting forms of knowledge, including the historical, as a prerequisite for the formulation of policy.

Several such volumes seem to have been produced, and in terms of its functionality the Statement might well be compared with the single volume of the Factory Records under the shelfmark 'Celebes' (IOR G/10/1). A factory was established at the port of Makassar in 1613 under the direction of Thomas Best. Makassar was a free and powerful city state with extensive trading links, and a major shipping-point for smuggled spices that allowed the EIC access to cloves throughout the 1610s and 1620s when many other sources, such as the Bandas, Ternate and Tidore, were either partly or wholly in the hands of the Dutch. The factory was maintained continuously until the second Anglo-Dutch war, during which time concerted pressure from the fleet

[49] Danvers, *Report* (1888), pp. 38-9. For an account of what would become the central Dutch archive on Java, see P. B. R. Carey, 'The Residency Archive of Jogjakarta', *Indonesia*, 25 (1978), 115-150. Carey notes the dislocating effect of British occupation on the archive (p. 118), how few records remain from that period, and how disordered the material remain for a time after 1816: the glimpse of an archive subjected to a certain amount of violence from outside is instructive.

[50] For an account of the economic underpinnings of the conflict - i.e., what was materially at stake for British and Dutch trade - see H. R. C. Wright, 'The Anglo-Dutch Dispute in the East, 1814-1824', *Economic History Review*, n.s. 3 (1950), 229-239.

[51] Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records* (1891), pp. ii-iv.

of Cornelis Speelman forced the ruler to negotiate a treaty which rendered his state a virtual Dutch protectorate and established a VOC monopoly: the EIC, the Danes and the Portuguese traders who had been there since the mid-sixteenth century were forced out, and the English factory wound up its affairs in 1667.[52] Although a considerable number of documents connected with the Makassar factory are still extant, they are scattered throughout the Original Correspondence and the consultations and letterbooks of other factories, including Java. The Celebes volume is an indexed digest of many of these letters, consultations and commissions (many from originals which have not survived), assembled in 1826 under the title "Materials | for a | History | of the Company's Factory | at Maccassar | from the year | 1613 to 1667 | with some Resulting Incidents | until the year 1674. | ...Collected in the Register | Department of the Library | 2nd February 1826."[53] Its principal point is articulated in its preamble:

> With Maccassar the English never appear to have had any other than a precarious intercourse after the year 1615,[54] when the factory they had established there was lost through the contrivances of the Dutch.
>
> In opposition to this erroneous statement, the following pages afford Evidence, that the Company held a Factory at Maccassar uninterruptedly from 1615 to 1667.
>
> The cited Misrepresentation was probably caused by reposing on an isolated Fact without looking beyond it. The fact exhibited in a clearer light is, ...[55]

This is not so much a delineation of a history as an angry assertion that a history actually

---

[52] Bowen, p. 41, pp. 84-86, p. 313; Chaudhury, p. 19, pp. 68-71; Das Gupta, 'The Maritime Trade of Indonesia: 1500-1800', pp. 108-110; George B. Souza, 'Portuguese Country Traders', pp. 72-74. Das Gupta details the importance of Makassar as a node of trading networks involving Javans, Chinese, Gujurati and Tamil merchants, and a major mart of spices that were transported as far West as the Red Sea, and notes that its continued free operation was a thorn in the side of Dutch efforts to establish control of the spice trade in the eastern archipelago.

[53] G/10/1, fol. 3^{r}.

[54] Doubly underlined in red ink.

[55] G/10/1, fol. 4^{r}.

exists: almost the sole point of the volume is to claim a precedent for English occupation. A label pasted to an older volume cover still kept within the red cardboard of the late nineteenth century binding, reads:

> Pa. 389.--The Company's Case relating to
> Macaſsar, as drawn on the
> Basis of these Materials, is one
> Example of the Degree in which
> the facts recorded may be applied
> to a Political Use, whenever a
> future War with Dutch should
> make the Application seasonable.[56]

The other shelfmarks relating to the Dutch are G/21/2 and G/21/8. These are mixed and complex volumes in which the sequence of collation and ordering is not always clear. G/21/2, for instance, is described in Danvers' 1887 catalogue thus: "These all relate to the controversies between the English and Dutch Companies, 12 Aug. 1622 to 19 Jan.1654" - and that is as concise a description as can be made.[57] There are four volumes under the shelfmark, all of them composite assemblages of earlier volumes and bundles of different sizes: they are gathered from Birdwood's five original volumes of the "The Dutch in the East", and from one volume of Wilks' collection.[58] All the material in the four volumes originates in Europe: there are records of conferences (many in French or Latin), remonstrances, petitions for redress, formal complaints and settlements, and legal affidavits, all concerning contact with the VOC. Although there is some attempt at chronological ordering, the general scheme is haphazard: there is no sustained attempt at indexing or cataloguing, and the impression is one of materials

[56] IOR G/10/1, inside cover.
[57] Frederick Charles Danvers, *Report* (1888), p. 35.
[58] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879) pp. 29-30.

hastily gathered in a non-routinized archival environment against the possibility - perhaps not envisaged as an imminent one - of their being needed at a later date.

G/21/8 is catalogued as "Transactions between the English and Dutch Commissioners, 1 Oct. 1684 to 22 June 1686".[59] It is composed of much the same kind of material, although from a more consolidated series of events: it essentially collates many of the documents produced by the round of protracted and almost completely issueless discussions, complaints, remonstrances and petitions that followed the EIC's ignominious expulsion from Bantam in 1682, culminating in a paltry offer of compensation for the goods lost in the English factory's warehouse when the English were expelled under spectacularly short order, under Dutch and native guard.[60] This volume is, at least, almost exclusively concerned with Java: again, though, every leaf of it was written in London. Appropriately, too, it marks the end of the Java records for the seventeenth century, and the series only picks up again in 1811 with the successful expedition to claim Java from the Bourbon Dutch and the installation of Stamford Raffles as governor.

Why the three foregoing shelfmarks should have been assigned to Series G/21 (Java) is something of a mystery. The *Statement of the Princes of the Eastern Seas* deals extensively with the records of the Bantam Presidency/Agency, and the area covered by the Presidency was certainly, despite its fluid boundaries and definitions, by and large the arena in which the encounters between the EIC and the VOC that gave rise to the complaints collected in G/21/2 took place. The correspondence and negotiations

[59] Frederick Charles Danvers, *Report* (1888), p. 36.
[60] The most exhaustive account of the expulsion is in Bassett, pp. 364-419. See also Anthony Farrington, 'Bengkulu: An Anglo-Chinese Partnership' in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, ed. by Bowen, Lincoln and Rigby, pp. 111-188 (p. 111).

detailed in G/21/7 do specifically concern the Java factory, but they are not *of* it: produced in the environment of the Home Establishment, they could as well be in a range of other series.

More specifically, one might expect to find them in Series I, "Records relating to other European Powers in India, 1475-1824: I/2/1-32, The Dutch in India, 1896-1824". This series contains a duplicate of G/21/2,[61] and three volumes of the treaties which were collated in order to produce it.[62] I/2 also contains one volume of miscellaneous letters concerning the Dutch, dated 1617-1674, but this is incorporated into a series of volumes which runs systematically up to 1824.[63] However, to begin arguing with such decisions, or suggesting counterfactuals, illuminates the methodological bind I identify in my introduction, whereby a critique of an archival order can only be implicitly based on a superior understanding of the materials at issue. Were one to engage in such a debate, one would be at a fatal disadvantage in that one's own assessment of the materials' relevance and functionality would be no more able that Danvers' or Foster's to engage substantively with the archival logics that collated the documents in the first place. These logics, predicated on knowledge requirements, institutional structures, architectonics of documentary preservation, and policy objectives which cannot be fully reconstructed, would be perhaps as obscure to late nineteenth century archivists as to the present writer, albeit in differing ways. What can

[61] IOR I/2/1. Although almost identical - testifying to the amount of planning and care that went into the volume's production - some minor corrections and marginal annotations made in it which are fully integrated into the text in G/21/1 indicate that it is an earlier copy which underwent some amendment.

[62] IOR I/2/2-3. These volumes cover the timescale of the *Statement*, and correspond with its contents: there is also a fourth volume, dated 1662-1864. A full examination of the *Statement* and its sources would presumably shed light on this arrangement, and yield useful information on the archival and historiographical practices of Pratt's Registry Department, which left little documentary evidence of its operations.

[63] IOR I/2/6-13.

be stated in confidence, however, is that the Factory Records were created as a consolidated series before the Foreign Relations, which appears first in Birdwood's 1891 *Report*.[64] Whereas the Factory Records were clearly envisaged as a complete and comprehensive series which organised, on a spatial principle (however flawed), the bulk of the records of the EIC's seventeenth and eighteenth century operations in the Indian Ocean, Series I is a relatively small series amalgamating the records of French, Dutch and Portuguese activities which were either left over from the Factory Records, discovered after they were consolidated, or could not reasonably be incorporated into them according to their overall classificatory requirements. IOR I/2/1, for example, is not mentioned anywhere in Birdwood's or Danvers' catalogues, and so presumably must have turned up at a later date. The creation of the Factory Records, moreover, was clearly an effort in which considerable institutional and ideological capital was invested, and its creation was central to the work of archiving early EIC material between 1875 and 1891. Seen in this light, questionable inclusions such as the Dutch material in IOR G/21 might be viewed as a result of classificatory overreaching, in which the opportunity to assimilate marginal material to a large and important series, rather than passing it over for later attention, could not be resisted. Bureaucratic inertia, the pressure of workloads, the sheer volume of material, and simple convenience may also play a part: once the volumes were in a series to which they were at least tangentially relevant, there would be little motivation to move them. Likewise, in the case of the *Statement of Eastern Princes*, the presence of duplicate volumes in two separate series might not only be a happy accident which no-one would particularly

[64] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 51-56.

care to interfere with: since the volume arguably has relevance in both contexts, there would be no reason to change either copy's position.

The remaining seventeenth century volumes in the Java Records are more properly factory records: produced for the most part abroad, and dealing with the actual overseas business of the Company in the general area of the Bantam Presidency/Agency. The volumes in shelfmarks G/21/3 – 7 are readily identifiable as factory consultations and letterbooks: what they illuminate, however, is not merely the operation and correspondence of one particular factory, but the operation of an entire network composed of innumerable geographic loci held together by links both strong and weak. Most of the volumes here are each composed of several bundles, often without much obvious rationale behind their being placed together except a vague similarity in date. In some cases, for example shelfmark /5, the bundles have been bound chronologically in the order they arrived in London. When this occurs, the effects on chronological and geographical continuity can be jarring: not only would each "pacquett" sent with the seasonal sailing from Bantam not necessarily contain all the expected, requested or current information from Bantam, but only what happened to have been copied at the point the ship left (and copying was very often, it seems, lagging somewhat behind in this regard), but it would also invariably contain consultations and correspondence from several subordinate factories. Since all factories in the East Indies were, at least in theory, subordinate to Bantam, this is a large amount of material. Since similar "pacquetts" are present in the records of most of the more established factories under the Bantam Presidency, we can assume that, whether these bundles passed through Bantam on their homeward leg or not (and they almost

invariably would have), they were kept separate from the Bantam bundles. Generally speaking, the subordinate factories whose records turn up in the Bantam bundles are those which were constantly shifting, being established or expelled, languishing on the edge of failure, crippled by disease, indolence, insider trading or the failure of local markets.[65] Volume G/21/7, for example, is composed mostly of consultations, reports, narratives, and letters from the troubled factories at Bencoolen (Fort York), Jambi, Amoy, Nangkin, Tonkin and Aceh. Most of these volumes have not been adequately catalogued, but, to take one example, Volume 7A – a short addition to Volume 7 comprised entirely of copies of letters, all done in the same hand, clearly at the same time, most likely in Bantam, though perhaps in London – an itemisation of the origins of the letters there (most, if not all, addressed to the Bantam factory, or London, or both) reads as follows:

Ayutthaya (Siam)	-	17 letters
Bantam	-	8 letters
Batavia	-	2 letters
Bombay	-	1 letter
Macao and environs	-	5 letters
Madras	-	4 letters
Malacca	-	1 letter
Riau	-	1 letter
Silebar	-	2 letters
Songkhla	-	1 letter
Surat	-	6 letters
Taiwan	-	3 letters
Tonkin	-	15 letters[66]

[65] Bassett, 'The Factory of the English East India Company', pp. 15-86; Bassett, 'The Trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623-24', pp. 32-35. For a broader contextual account of the difficulties experienced by the English, Dutch, and Danish companies in the archipelago during the first three decades of the seventeenth century – and one which, unlike Bassett, does not efface the disasrous effects of their activities on local markets and populations – see Das Gupta, 'The Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1800', pp. 97-114.

[66] For this breakdown I am indebted to a word-processed contents page, inserted by Antonia Moon of the IOR.

Even the most easily isolated and supposedly definable materials, then – the factory records and consultations, the backbone of one of the largest, most comprehensive and most outwardly uncontroversial series that Birdwood and his successors bequeathed to the archive – is exposed as fractured, uneven and dispersed when interrogated closely. In a way, this should not be overstated: there is still such a thing as a consultation-book or a letter-book or digest specially made for one factory. But this centre, on which the series as a whole bases its taxonomic authority, is not perhaps strong enough to hold the whole structure together: its authority is not wholly, but partly imaginary. A full cataloguing might enable a quantification of the exact proportion of the materials in G/21/3 – 7 that do not in any way fit the shelfmark's self-description of "Java Records": those documents that ended up there by convenience, as a result of navigational and epistolary technology, by accident, by negligence, or by a peculiarly archival combination of compromise and violence - although, of course, the ambiguities of any classificatory definition would make the precise status of the majority of such documents a matter of irresolvable debate. A more productive tactic might be to study the creation of the series in detail, and to follow specific documents and sets of documents through the processes of its assembly. In following archivists' methodologies and situated practice, it is possible to expose not only the taxonomic categories which they attempted to impose upon the materials at hand, but also the effects of context and circumstance upon those categories' application, and the ways in which the force of the taxonomic imperative and the contingencies of its praxis interacted with the materials' inherent tendencies to resistance.

iii: The Factory Records: Construction

The process by which the Factory records series was created is amply documented in Birdwood, Danvers and Foster's catalogues. Birdwood's first three years of work after 1875 is summarised in his *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office*, first submitted as a parliamentary paper on November 1, 1878, and afterwards printed for public release by HMSO. The next major catalogue is Danvers' *Report ... on the Records of the India Office, Vol. 1 Part 1.: Records Relating to Agencies, Factories and Settlements not now under the Administration of the Government of India*, first published in a run of 100 copies in 1887 and reprinted in 1888. After the much-augmented reprint of Birdwood's 1879 *Report* in 1891, there is Danvers' free-standing *List of Factory Records of the Late East India Company* (1897), and finally Foster's *Guide* of 1919.

The precise shape of what Birdwood inherited cannot be reconstructed, since all we have to go on are the classifications of his first catalogue and his descriptions of the material, both within and outside of the catalogue text - which, as has been shown, were deeply partial. His first intervention, however, was to make five divisions within the archive:

> *First*, the Court Minutes, Committee Minutes, and papers relating to the Legal Affairs of the Company, and to Miscellaneous Matters connected with the Company;
> *Second*, the papers relating to the Shipping, Trading, and General Affairs of the Company;
> *Third, the papers concerning the Foreign Relations of the Company, many of which it is difficult to really separate from Factory records*, the Company's relations with Japan and China, with the Dutch in the East, and with Persia,

> having chiefly been in contention with their factories in those countries; *Fourth*, the papers relating to the History of the Company in India and *Fifth*, the Factory Records.[67]

The first and fifth categories – the records of Court and the factory records – are perhaps the most easily defined: based around the Court Minutes and the Factory Consultations and letterbooks respectively, they are both constructed around a specific genre of formal documentation which is both easily defined, and materially and historically extensive. Both the Court Minutes and, to a slightly lesser extent, the Factory Consultations and letterbooks are voluminous, cover a long time-span, and partake of certain formal practices and features by which they can be defined and, for the most part, distinguished from other types of documentation. In both cases, too, these features are related to the site of production and the technologies it entails: in both court and factory, static records were kept continuously in large and often pre-bound ledgers. Defining and policing the outer edges of such classifications, however, is a different matter: the boundaries of documentary practices and technologies, as of textual genres, are permeable and fluid. As is demonstrated in Chapter 2, the cultural logistics of the EIC through the seventeenth century were characterized by ceaseless and energetic improvisation: a commission might be presented as a letter, or a letter might contain a commission; a journal might be enclosed with or embedded in the text of a letter, or itself contain a letter's text; the definition of what constitutes a "factory consultation", especially, is subject to radical change and uncertainty. Likewise, although the second division, "papers relating to shipping, trading, and general affairs", casts a much wider and looser generic net, it has a reasonable claim to derive some authority from

[67] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879) p. 11.

geography: the great majority of the records that Birdwood assigns to this class, like those in the first division, are recognizably produced by the home establishment in England. The third category, "relations with foreign powers", is defined by the use-value of documents' content rather than formal, generic or historical considerations: this can be perhaps be understood as a continuation in form of the move that produced the impressive compilations, digests and recommendations of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century mentioned above.

The most striking intervention, however, is the creation of the fourth division, "papers relating to the History of the Company in India". As was shown in Chapter 2, no such distinction is properly admissible in the Company's early records: their field of operation covered the whole of the Indian Ocean and beyond, and until the beginnings of territorial empire with land-farming accessions in the 1730s and 1740s, continental India was arguably no more a privileged part of the network than Persia or Java.[68] Indeed, even when the early Company defined itself as operating in a geographical field they called "India", this did not necessarily refer to the continental landmass which would form the greater part of the Raj: lexically, it could be used as a synonym for "The Indies", - as is acknowledged somewhat awkwardly in Birdwood's mixed bundle "YY: Further India".[69] Whatever case can be made for hiving off the records of continental India after the sequence of territorial acquisition of the mid-eighteenth century – when the emergent land empire began, at least, to produce its own distinct modes of documentation[70] – the retroactive imposition of such boundaries on the records prior

[68] Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade*, pp. 38-43.
[69] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records*, (1879), p. 11.
[70] Sudipta Sen, *Empire of Free Trade*, pp. 9-11, pp. 93-5.

to this period amounts to an entirely artificial division.

To give credit to Birdwood on this point, this is actually the smallest division in his catalogue: it consists of some narratives of the conflict with Hyder Ali in Mysore in the 1780s, a "Specimen of Collections for an History and Description of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa", dated 1676,[71] and a loose collection of papers purportedly relating to the French in India in the eighteenth century, which in fact is very little of the sort: although there is an attempt at a collection on the French (much less enthusiastically done than the monumental similar volumes on the Dutch – which, of course, were assigned to Birdwood's Third Division), its claim to interest for Birdwood seems to rest mostly upon one item: "Clive's own account of the decisive victory won by him, 23rd June 1757, on the 'plain of Placis' or Plassey (*i.e.*, Palasi, so called from the *Palas* trees, *Butea frondosa,* growing on it). *This is a volume of the highest interest*." [italics author's own].[72] This is, of course, an originary document of an originary moment, an account of the battle already viewed, in the mythology of empire, as one of the foundational acts of the Raj.[73] If the archivists are to begin to split the archives into what is properly Indian and merely peripherally Indian, this is, in symbolic terms at least, as good a place as any to start. But it cannot be doubted that it *is* a symbolic distinction: the battle at Plassey gains significance only in retrospect, through its position at a crucial juncture in a chain of historical events which have shape only when viewed from the perspective of the British Empire as it was in the nineteenth century. Subsequent history confers a kind of teleological light upon it, and by

[71] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 59.
[72] Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 57-60.
[73] It might be noted that this is also one of the extraordinarily few times at which Birdwood expresses any interest in the records of the eighteenth century.

association upon Clive's personal account: and, in imposing the geographical boundaries of the Raj upon a body of documentation produced before the Raj was ever even conceived of, that light is conferred upon them, too. That 1676 "Specimen of Collections for a History and Description of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa", by being placed in this division, partakes of that light, just as Birdwood's as yet unlocated "CHARTER OF ELIZABETH" belongs in the very centre of a muniment which is now conceived, in retrospect, as having sprung from it.[74]

This is, in effect, the primary partition in the body of materials that would become the IOR as it is today: the distinction between, and physical separation of, those records which gesture towards a triumphant future from those which give evidence only of false starts and activities to be thought of, according the nineteenth-century records, as peripheral – such as, for example, the Java Records.

Birdwood was, as far as we can tell, the first to consciously decide upon, formally impose, and record having made such a partition; and, as the paucity of material enumerated above indicates, in this case it was perhaps more a symbolic distinction or statement of intent than anything more substantive. In any case, the making of such a relatively token division was not particularly problematic in the specific context of the old records, and in other respects Birdwood allows his classification to reflect the broad contexts of the materials' creation. In his fifth division, the factory records, he includes all the seventeenth and early eighteenth century factories which fall within the bounds of the nineteenth century empire: Masulipatam, Madapollam, Surat, Anjengo, Balasore, Bombay, Calcutta, Hooghly, Forts St George

[74] Birdwood and Foster, *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, p. 1.

(Madras) and St David (Murshidabad), and so on: by virtue of being factory records, clustered despite considerable diversity around a well-defined core of consultations, accounts and letterbooks, he left these in the company of similar records from Siam, Taiwan, Amoy, Tonkin, Japan, Cochin-China, Java, Sumatra, Celebes, Borneo, Ceram, and Persia. In this series, at least, the trading networks of the period are unbroken by the histories of subsequent decades and centuries. Later archivists, though, were to widen and deepen the incision. Danvers, faced with the task of elucidating the entirety of the archive to his masters in the India Office, to the public, and to posterity, had no qualms about subjecting the spatial distribution of the records according to present-day political geographies: the full title of his 1887 catalogue, in identifying its subject specifically as [*r*]*ecords relating to agencies, factories and settlements not now under the administration of the Government of India*, makes a clear statement of interest. In Foster's *Guide* of 1919, which represents the work of the IOR recordsof the seventeenth andf eighteenth centuries in their more or less finished state, the partition is complete: one has only to turn to the contents page to see how the records have been anatomised and dispersed according to the disposition of present-day territorial possession. The archive as he describes it is divided into five divisions, with subsets, thus:

– The home administrations:
  - The East India Company
  - The Board of Control

– The administrations in India:
  - Bengal
  - The Government of India
  - The North West Provinces
  - The Punjab
  - Madras
  - Bombay

– Countries &c, outside India:
  - Borneo, Cape Colony, Celebes, Ceylon, China, Japan, Cochin China, Tonquin, Denmark, Egypt and the Red Sea, France, Java, Persia and the Persian Gulf, Portugal, Siam, St. Helena, Straits Settlements, Sumatra, Turkey, United States.

– Shipping

– Personal[75]

After making this primary incision, Birdwood's method in the first stage of archiving was to divide his materials into alphabetically-labelled "bundles". So, of his five divisions, the Court minutes and legal affairs are bundles A to K; the trading and shipping affairs of the Company take up bundles L to R; foreign relations are bundles S to U; and the history of the Company in India is covered by bundles V to Z.[76] The factory records, which take up the majority of the early material and of the catalogue, are bundles AA to ZZ.[77] Where he finds them to be easily classifiable according to factory, he bundles all the records of that factory together: hence, for example, bundle GG is Surat diaries, consultations and letterbooks, HH similarly for Bombay, II Anjengo, KK Fort St. David, LL Masulipatam and Madapollam, MM Conimero, NN Petapoli, OO Cuddalore, and so on. Less definite geographical areas are covered by bundle designations such as "QQ: Coromandel Coast - *Collections (put together in 1788) relevant to the various factories 1624 to 1681),*[78] and "YY: Further India and the

[75] Extracted from the contents page of Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records* (1919), unpaginated. In the original contents page each subset - or division, if there are no subsets - is followed by an exhaustive list of administrative areas, typologies or persons: I have left this in only in the case of the "countries, &c, outside India".
[76] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), p. 17.
[77] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), pp. 9-15, pp. 32-42.
[78] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), p. 14, p. 41. This may be an outlying or mislaid section of the collections made by Robert Orme in his career as Historiographer and in preparation for his *Military Transactions*. The core collection of "Orme MSS" is preserved in the EUR

Indian Archipelago" - covering York Fort (Bencoolen/Bengkulu), Fort Marlborough, Bantam and Makassar.

For the most part, the material in these bundles remained relatively undisturbed, being absorbed into the factory records series for each individual factory: the boundaries of the bundle are coterminous with those of the later series. Other bundles, however, were less easily defined. Bundle DD. is described as "27 Combined Volumes, 1623-1708"; bundle EE is the "Damaged Papers", and bundle FF the "Injured Papers".[79] It is these three bundles that provided much of the material that would be redistributed according to the geographical logic of the factory records.

The distribution of the twenty-seven combined volumes is not recorded, but Birdwood does provide in his 1879 catalogue an itemization of their contents that can be taken to indicate his intentions as to dispersal:

> 1. 1623-1625.-- Consultations at Batavia, Surat, Amboyna, Gombrone.
> 2. 1626-1635.-- Consultations at Surat, Batavia, Jambee, Bantam, Ispahan letters, letters to Persia. A letter to the Viceroy of Goa.
> 3. 1634-1659.-- Surat, Bantam, Fort St George. A letter from Sir John Massingbird[80] 4.1659-1666.-- Madraspatam, Bantam, Macassar, Bengal, Metchlipatam.
> 5. 1666-1669.-- Bantam, Balasore.
> 6. 1669-1672.-- Bombay, Jambee, Metchlipatam, Bantam, Golconda, Ceylon, Bengal.
> 7. 1672-1675.-- Bombay, Metchlipatam, Japan, Bantam, Ballasore.

Mss, O.V. (Orme Volumes). The materials he made use of were not redistributed into the collection, and whatever disturbance their collection and movement caused is outside the purview of this study. It would be instructive - up to a point - to compare the notes of the late eighteenth-century historiographers with the contents of the tranches of documents that Birdwood and Danvers found in a state of relative disorder. As with the ellipses and distortions in the Marine Records that can be traced to Purchas, one generation's physical practices of historiography - how it deals with its materials, where it puts them, whether it puts them back - can affect the histories written by subsequent generations. For a fuller giude to the Orme MSS, see S. C. Hill, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages, Belonging to the India Office*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), I, Part I: The Orme Collection.

[79] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), pp. 9-10, pp. 33-39.

[80] Why Birdwood singles out this letter is unclear; it may be because the manuscript features a complete seal.

8. 1675-1676.-- Bantam, Madras, Tonquene.
9. 1676-1679.-- Tonquin, Ft George, Cossimbazar, Amoy, Taiwan, Hugly.
10. 1677-1681.-- Bantam, Tawian, Amoy, Bombay, Tonqueen, Siam, Hugly.
12. Bantam, Syam, Dacca, Ft George, Batavia, Tonquin, Surat, St Helena.
13. Batavia, Macao, Amoy, Bombay, Patna, Metchlipatam, St Helena.[81]

These are all the volumes enumerated which Birdwood identifies as containing Java records; the undated lists are presumably those in which a clear range of dates was difficult to establish. That these materials were filleted and entered into the factory records is attested to by notes added to the manuscripts: in the volumes of factory records preserved in the Java series - shelfmarks G/21/3, 4, 4A, 6A, 6B and 7A - many of the bundles' front leaves are marked "DD" in blue pencil. The hand is unidentifiable, but where anything more expansive is written it is usually Foster's.

Bundles EE and FF - the "damaged" and "injured" papers - clearly arrived in somewhat more disorder. Birdwood divides the Damaged Papers into four bundles, labelled A, B, C and D. In his 1879 catalogue he elucidates the contents of bundles A, B and D, and although more cataloguing must have been undertaken by the time of the reprint in 1891, the text is not significantly different.[82] Bundle B is 'Wilks' Collection': "a miscellaneous collection of damaged papers, like those already noted, sorted by Mr. Wilks, a clerk in the old Examiner's Office, and put up by him into leather cases"[83] None of it relates to the seventeenth century. Bundle D contains several letters and journals from the 1610s and 1620s, which largely seem to have been added to the Original Correspondence and Marine Records at some point before 1919. Bundle C,

[81] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), p. 33.
[82] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), pp. 51-66; *Report on the Old Records* (1891), pp. 34-39.
[83] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), p. 38; *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 79.

Birdwood complains, is "[a] rubbishy Index, indicating nothing".[84] Bundle A is a cause for delight, and for the mobilisation of the familiar tropes of disorder and serendipitous recovery:

> Fragments of miscellaneous documents on trade, ships, commissions, the Dutch, Law, accounts, invoices, remainders, valuations, bills of lading, policies of insurance, customs lists, and all sorts of odds and ends of correspondence, --just such a sack-full of torn papers as might have been gathered out of the waste paper baskets of the Company's offices in Crosby Hall, or the Leaden Hall, at any time during the seventeenth century.[85]

The entirety of the Damaged Papers had in fact been thoroughly catalogued by Pratt and his staff some time before 1826; the catalogue survives in Home Miscellaneous Vol. 710, along with that of the Original Correspondence and the Parchment Records. Pratt had also had prepared a careful "Index to the Damaged Papers", listing all the holdings by subject: as with the Parchment Records, whatever state they appeared to Birdwood in, they had been exactingly catalogued under Pratt's regime.[86] As noted in Chapter 4, I have found no surviving indication of when Pratt's Parchment Records catalogue was discovered, but the lack of any mention of it in the correspondence surrounding the discovery and the making of Sainsbury's catalogue indicate that it was not known of in 1875. In the present case, it is less easy to say whether the Damaged Papers catalogue had been discovered by 1879: again, the balance of probability suggests not, since it is nowhere mentioned in the 1879 *Report*. It is not mentioned either in the 1891 reprint, although this should not necessarily be taken to indicate that

---

[84] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), p. 39; *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 81.
[85] Birdwood, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records* (1879), p. 34; *Report on the Old Records* (1891), p. 67.
[86] IOR H/710, fols 57^{r}-100^{v}.

it had not yet been found: one must reckon not only with Birdwood's workload, but with his tendency to colorful overstatement and his frequently-exercised talent for talking up his own achievements, and with his reliance in doing so on the narrative of archival trauma.

Pratt's Damaged Papers catalogue and index seem to have been available to William Foster when he undertook the work of dispersing the EE and FF papers throughout the emergent Factory Records series. Precisely when this was done is impossible to trace - none of the relevant documents carry dates - but the materials were in the Factory series by the release of Danvers' 1888 *Report*. On the back of an early nineteenth century enclosure slip reading "Voucher No. 25 | A revised catalogue | of the | 'Damaged papers' | Compare with the Old Catalogue",[87] which prefaces the catalogue proper and the beginning of the catalogue proper, Foster has pencilled a note:

> most of the~~se~~ papers <indexed in this book> were incorporated
> in the O. C. volumes, for remainder,
> see opposite.
> N. B. The EE & FF papers <down to 1660> were sorted
> into three bundles, ~~and of~~ Home, Marine, Factories:
> ~~and~~ examined by M*r* Danvers 12 March /89.[88]

The page opposite - inserted and bound between the enclosure sheet and the catalogue - is a single sheet of foolscap on which Foster has meticulously noted the destination of each remaining document from the Damaged and Injured Papers. It is imaged in full in Appendix C, p. 345.

As he indicates, Foster itemizes here the documents which were not integrated

[87] IOR H/710, fol. 54^{r}. No older catalogue of the damaged papers exists.
[88] IOR H/710, fol. 57^{v}.

in the Original Correspondence. This includes the three lists of the Injured Papers, and the unlisted remainder. Nothing from the first list has not been absorbed by the Original Correspondence, so that is labelled "none". For the second and third lists, he has written down all the numbers - in the case of the second list, divided by bundle. The unlisted materials consist of two bundles described as "instrustions in the voyage of the 4 shipps. Hector, New Yeares Gift - 1613"; "Packet of papers, apparently copies of Firmâns +c +c. pt. Marked "Masulipatam | and Pettipolee. Temporary Cowl.", and seven more bundles described as "Sundry Bundles endorsed by Sir G. Birdwood:-".

Then, as he sorted the documents, he noted their destination through a system of hieroglyphs and coloured ink:

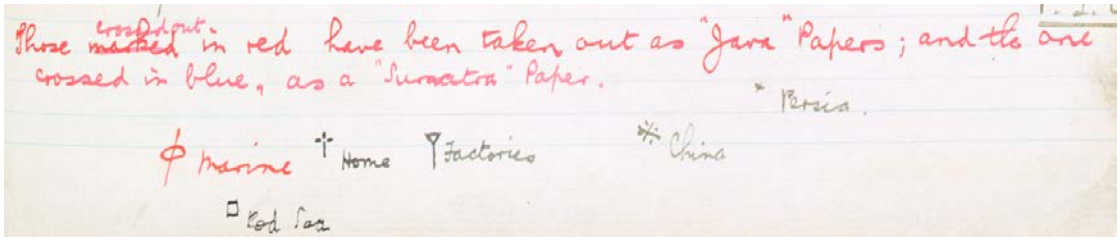


Fig. 8 IOR H/710, fol. 58[r] (detail)

The Marine, Home and Factories classifications are the pre-existing divisions; the Red Sea, China and Persia hieroglyphs appear to have been added as he went, finding that these were documents for which classes of factory records did not yet exist. As he moved through the lists, he crossed out each number and added a hieroglyph to indicate its destination, adding notes where he decided on peripheral series: "Straits", "Sumatra", "Persia", and "China". He then crossed out each number, using red ink for the Java series and blue for Sumatra. This is confused to some extent by the fact that he also used red ink for the Marine records: a red strikethrough alone marks a document

destined for the Java series. The "Unnumbered Documents" are not, in the end, dealt with by this process, apart from the first bundle, "Instruction in the voyage of the 4 Shipps", which is marked down for the Marine Records; but everything from the second and third lists is disposed of.

Using this sheet, one can follow any document through its reassignment. For instance, Java Records shelfmark IOR G/21/3, volume 3, contains a letter from one Robert Barlee (possibly Barlow) to the Company, dated from Amsterdam in 1630. Barlee appears to have been conducting intelligence work for the EIC, conveying information about VOC cargoes and fleets. Barlee's letters appears in Pratt's Damaged Papers catalogue as "Robt. Barlee to the Company. II. No.12__5."; i.e., second division, bundle 12, document 5. Next to this entry, Foster has written "JAVA 3". It also appears in the Index, with the same numberings, under "Amsterdam". Next to this entry, somebody (most likely Foster) has written "?O.C." - clearly the letter was considered for inclusion in the Original Correspondence - and a later, unidentified hand has scribbled "Robert Barlow | EIC Agent | Amsterdam". It is also ticked twice in blue pencil - as are the majority of the documents listed in the index which were transferred to the Factory Records. Where the letter itself appears in G/21/3 vol.3, it is prefaced by its own early nineteenth century enclosure slip which reads "Second list | 12__5", upon which Foster has scrawled "FF". In H/710 fol. 58^{r}, it is accordingly noted in the second list, bundle 12, as number 5 (the second in the line); and, having assigned it to the java records, Foster has struck it through in red:

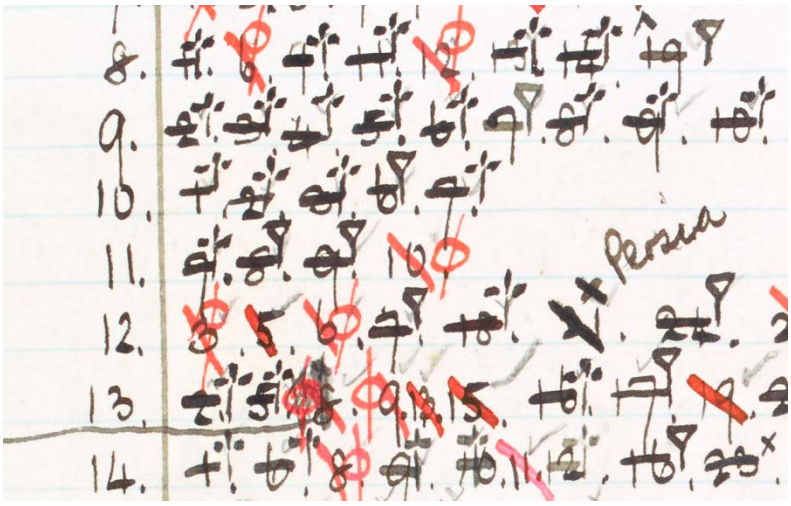


Fig. 9 IOR H/710 fol. 58[r] (detail)

Presumably its assignment to the Java records was predicated on the fact that it reports a fleet recently returned from Batavia, and gives some information on its cargo and rumours regarding the prices of various commodities at the point of sale. The suggestion that it might have ended up in the Original Correspondence instead is tantalising: falling between the geospatial classifications that Birdwood inaugurated and Danvers pursued, and concerning almost all the possible subject divisions except those concerned with legal affairs and the retrospectively-imposed India defined by the borders of the Raj, it might just as easily have been assigned to almost any point in the archive.

Conclusion

As Barlee/Barlow's letter demonstrates, the taxonomies by which archival series are held together are often exposed as tenuous when studied in closer, sceptical detail. This chapter has shown how a large series (the Factory Records) was created out of the first

division imposed upon the archive by Birdwood in his re-organisation between 1875 and 1878. The materials that became the Factory Records were in large part those that had been passed over by the logics of successive archival regimes, for a variety of reasons which cannot now be reconstructed, but can be guessed at in individual cases. The information they contained might not be required by those regimes, or it might be buried too deeply to make it worth the retrieval. The staff who imposed those regimes, or the historiographers combing the records for evidence (the Pratts and Wilkses, the Bruces, Kayes and Ormes), remote or estranged from the cultural logistics which produced them, may not in many cases have known how to interpret and classify them. As I note in Chapter 2, many of them, especially the letterbooks and consultation records from factories, are hybrid documents which mingle different literary technologies, for which a new classification would inevitably have to be produced. For many documents, however, their classificatory difficulties were a matter of physical distribution, of their position within a large body of material which underwent periodic restructurings and relocations, whose management was always a matter of debate, and in which many pockets of unsorted material still lingered, out of mind until found. In this respect, the Damaged and Injured Papers catalogues are the forerunners of the Factory Records, in that many of them are neither more damaged nor more injured than the contents of the Parchment Records or the Original Correspondence: Barlee/Barlow's letter, for example, is relatively well preserved. Presumably its only injury was to arrive in the archivist's hands without a context.

Birdwood, Danvers and Foster's creation of the Factory records, then, was at least partly a way of creating a taxonomy where none yet existed. Their system of

dividing the records within this series by geographical space is deeply problematic: while the large amounts of largely homogeneous paperwork generated by factories, presidencies and permanent residencies from the early eighteenth century onwards to some extent legitimise the pattern,[89] it could only be applied to the more mobile, tenuous and improvisatory networks of the seventeenth century with difficulty. Barlee/Barlow's letter is perhaps an example of a kind of document which presents one of the last lines of resistance possible against the interpretive and narrativizing arguments of the archive. Bound into the third volume of shelfmark 3 of the Java Records, forced together with consultations, letterbooks, commissions and bills of lading, most of them produced on the other side of the world from Amsterdam and for very different purposes than its own, it is so deracinated, so resistant to contextualisation within the materials in which it has become embedded, that it approaches the radically decontextualised status of the Villiers letter, blown from a paper cart in mid-nineteenth century London; only, this time, without a means of being brought back into a proper archival order by good luck and expertise.

Danvers' belief in the IOR as supporting apocalyptic prophecy is not embedded in his work within the archive in any traceable way, however informative it might be about how he conceived of his relationship to the archive, and the historical imagination that lay behind that relationship. Birdwood's initial divisions, however, do arguably bear the imprint of a teleological narrative which - as the textual and material additions of his 1891 *Report* amply demonstrate - he applied to his work consciously and with

[89] This is also a matter of documentary genre: after the formalization of "Consultations" as a documentary practice in the early eighteenth century, the factory records also make sense as a repository of specifically these documents.

evident pride. Specific documents, in their facticity and their blunt refusal to be otherwise than what they are, can be seen as exerting a certain inertial resistance to the ecstatic narratives to which, *en masse*, they are supposed to gesture.

Chapter 6.

"The Eye of History": the Hakluyt Society, Clements Markham, and imperial geography

Chapter 2 of this thesis investigated the records classified as journals, their salient features as records of travel, trade, encounter and experience, and their functionality within the EIC's developing cultural logistics. I interrogate these documents as narratives of the work of early modern mercantilism which allow an impression of access, however partial and mediated by the demands of their cultural logistics, to the lived experience of individuals at the frontiers of European expansion as they improvised trading networks, fashioned identities along lines of confession, nationality and class, encountered alterity, and confronted violence and death. I also study them as instances of directed and formalised modes of collecting and processing information, which could then be assimilated into an archive – both literal and figurative – of economic and geographical knowledge.

The historians, antiquarians, editors and archivists of the nineteenth century found these texts deeply attractive. From 1847 onwards, several series of editions of early modern travel narratives were published under the aegis of the Hakluyt Society, many of them taken directly from the archives of the IO. Through selection, editing, paratext and publicity, these texts were conscripted into the discourses and practices of reverential historiography delineated in my earlier chapters. This was, however, not their only intended function. In this chapter I study some of the activities of the Hakluyt Society and its links with the RGS, an organisation with which it shared both membership and cultural and institutional contexts. I argue that it also partook of what

Felix Driver and David Livingstone, among others, have identified as the developing discipline of a specifically imperial or imperialist geography.[1] With special reference to the career and work of Sir Clements Markham (1830-1916), his leading position within both Societies and his work in the India Office and its Records, I hope to show some of the ways in which this emergent discipline engaged with the imperial archive.

Through a close study of one of the Society's landmark volumes – *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, edited by Markham himself – and its textual antecedents, I will show how the textual materials produced by early modern exploration were incorporated into the imperial archive, both in its concrete and its imagined forms, and trace the continuities and disjunctions between, on the one hand, the culture of cosmography and mercantile/navigational intelligencing which first produced those texts, and, on the other, that of the scholarly/administrative complex which adapted them for public consumption.

i: The Hakluyt Society: cultures, antecedents, personalities

In December 1897, the Hakluyt Society celebrated its half-century with an extraordinary meeting followed by dinner. For the meeting's highlight, Sir Clements Markham – one of the Society's founder members, and at present its Honorary Secretary – gave a speech which, beginning with a laudatory biographical sketch of Richard Hakluyt and his work, developed into an apologia for the Society's own work

[1] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); David Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1992), pp. 216-259.

thus far.[2] This oration was published for the occasion as a small-circulation pamphlet, which noted that, after the customary votes of thanks,

> The guests next proceeded to examine a small collection of books and maps of the Hakluyt period, mostly from the library of the Royal Geographical Society. Early editions of Hakluyt, Eden, and other geographical writers were shown, as well as an interesting manuscript volume (lent by the India Office) containing the early Court minutes of the East India Company, in which there is an entry of a payment to Richard Hakluyt, in February 1601, of ten pounds "for his travails taken in instructions and advices touching the preparing of the voyage" to the East Indies, and "thirty shillings for three maps by him provided and delivered to the Company". Mr. Silver brought for inspection a number of interesting manuscript journals and drawings by Sir Joseph Banks. There were also the Ortelius and Saxton atlases; while the tapestry map of Warwickshire, dated 1588, kindly lent by the York Philosophical Society, was hanging from the gallery.[3]

The passage is interesting enough for the impression it gives of the conviviality and intellectual eclecticism of metropolitan scholarly societies in the late nineteenth century, and of the personal, professional and academic networks that brought them together. Previous chapters of this thesis have attempted to show how personnel, knowledge and artefacts circulated between institutions of governance and learning, between sites of knowledge creation and those in which that knowledge was mobilised in the interests of power (although the distinction between these two, as I have attempted to show, is often unclear). The loan of objects from the RGS, the IO, Kew and the York Philosophical Society is typical of this kind of exchange. The tone of

---

[2] Ann Savours, 'Clements Markham: Longest Serving Officer, Most Prolific Editor' in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth*, ed. by Bridges and Hair, pp. 165-188 (pp. 183-185). What the post of Honorary Secretary formally involved is somewhat unclear. Markham did, however, dominate the Society to some extent during the 1880s and 1890s, and was its most prominent and energetic advocate.

[3] Clements Markham, 'Richard Hakluyt: his life and work. With a short account of the aims and achievements of the Hakluyt Society. An address delivered by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S. (President), on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society, December 15th, 1896' (London: Bedford Press, 1896), p. 18.

reverence is also familiar: these are the same kind of relics of inceptionary moments that George Birdwood would have placed in the centre of his muniment. Just as with Birdwood's attempts to reflect and implicitly advocate a certain kind of imperial ethos in his choice and placing of documents, these relics are deployed rhetorically as signs of how the society's members would like to conceive of its work and its relation to the business of empire. The Banks material harks back to an earlier imperial centre of information exchange and knowledge production, created by a savant and scientific power-broker who moved easily within and between elite groupings; arguably, it also evokes the shadow of an inclusive Humboldtian geography which encompasses botany, biology, ethnology and other sciences. Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* evokes the inception of a synoptic global vision;[4] the Saxton Atlas, produced under the patronage of Elizabeth I's court as an unusually advanced national survey and a rhetorical consolidation of national territorial identity, recalls a instance of the state (and not just any state, but that of Elizabeth, the Victorians' proto-imperialist) performing and augmenting its power through lavish patronage of the geographical arts.[5] Markham's address argues that Hakluyt "[saw] the two great needs of his country, and... set himself to work with patriotic zeal to remedy the evils. The first was caused by the ignorance of our seamen as regards the scientific branch of their profession. The second was the

[4] Brotton, *Trading Territories*, pp. 171-179. Brotton identifies the *Theatrum* as a paradigm shift in the manipulation and commodification of geographic knowledge, mobilising ancient and modern sources into a single cartographic text which, rather than remaining a static picture of geographical knowledge at the time of its first printing, could be added to over time in consultation with the scholarly community: "[Ortelius] had created the ideal medium through which to endlessly mediate the countless voyages, travels, encounters and exchanges and discoveries which the field of sixteenth-century geography attempted to record comprehensively" (p. 175). It is Ortelius, in the *Theatrum*'s 'Address to the Reader', that defines geography as "The eye of History". (Abraham Ortelius, 'Address to the Reader', in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London, 1606), unpaginated; quoted in Brotton, p. 175.)

[5] James R. Akerman, 'The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases', *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995), 138-154 (p. 147).

absence of records, and the way in which important voyages and travels were allowed to fall into oblivion."[6] The appearance of the Court Book, with its details of Hakluyt being paid by the Company for imparting his geographical knowledge and materials, makes the point as clear as it can possibly be: the Hakluyt Society, drawing on the emotional force of a reverential historiography of the early modern, is predicated on a conviction that geography is the essential science of empire. [7]

The Hakluyt Society was formed over the winter of 1846-47. It was conceived largely as an outgrowth of the Royal Geographical Society (formed 1830) partly in response to a certain level of dissent or disaffection amongst RGS members: its primary instigator, William Desborough Cooley, was dissatisfied with certain majority opinions in the RGS regarding the admissibility of early modern and medieval documents within the discipline's corpus of knowledge.[8] The conviction that it should, and the emerging tradition of antiquarian organisations such as the Camden Society (founded 1838) formed the two major influences on its creation.[9]

The circular notice defining the Society's remit which appeared after the first meetings provides a concise index of its aspirations:

---

[6] Markham, 'Richard Hakluyt', p. 6.

[7] This was the same court book, now catalogued IOR B/1, which had been transcribed and published by Henry Stevens eleven years earlier under the title of *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*. The entry in which Hakluyt is voted reimbursement for his maps and directions is reproduced on p. 143.

[8] R. C. Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley and the Foundations of the Hakluyt Society', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846-1996*, ed. by Bridges and Hair, pp. 51-80. Bridges' account of the eccentric and chronically disputatious Cooley and his fraught relationship with his academic colleagues is particularly acute in exposing the extent to which the definition of disciplines and the production of knowledge is determined by social contexts in which personal conviction, eccentricity, allegiance and animosity play a large role.

[9] Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley', pp. 57-63.

> The object of this Society is to print, in English, for distribution among its members, rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, and Geographical Records—including the more important early narratives of British enterprise.
> The highly-prized collections of this kind, made by Ramusio, Hakluyt, Purchas, and De Bry, were all produced between the middle of the 16th and that of the 17th century. Europe still felt, during that period, the emotions awakened by the discovery of a New World, and viewed with pleasure the spirit of enterprise resulting from the impulse of that remarkable event.
> The first steps leading to a communication with the inhabitants of strange and distant countries, are naturally those which we regard with the deepest interest. Yet the extension of scientific research into every region of the earth, and the frequent, though less prominent discoveries which affect the channels of commerce, and with them the fortunes of nations, furnish materials of the greatest importance to the history of civilization.
> The store of knowledge increases daily. Exploration and discovery advance without intermission; while the general progress of learning throws new light continually on the writings of early travellers.
> The publication of Hakluyt's collection may be ranked among the many characteristic distinctions of the age of Elizabeth. That writer had it in view, as he informs us, "for the benefit and honour of his country, to bring Antiquities, smothered and buried in dark silence, to light; and to preserve several memorable exploits by the English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion." But now the time seems to be arrived when the treasures of the older geographical information, may be advantageously reproduced on a plan more comprehensive than Hakluyt's, as well as more in the spirit of an advanced literary age.[10]

Much of the substance of the Society's ideological commitments is evident here. There is the tension between the national and the trans-national, with a mildly protesting insistence that the focus should be primarily on the British or English: Cooley had originally envisaged the new society as being named the Columbus Society, and while accounts of the discussions that followed are necessarily partisan, it appears that the name of Hakluyt was chosen in order to reflect a more specifically national remit.[11] There is the emphasis, again communicated with a kind of apologetic insistence, on the

[10] Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley', p. 65. Bridges reproduces the original notice in facsimile alongside the earlier "Columbus Society" variant, with an authoritative discussion of the texts' genesis and emendation.
[11] Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley' pp. 55-81.

mercantile as a privileged category within the wider remit of literatures of expansion and encounter: "the frequent, though less prominent discoveries which affect the channels of commerce". There is the valorization of the antique, especially of the "Age of Elizabeth", the festishization of the archive as a site of resurrection ("to preserve … from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion"), and the concomitant festishization of the originary: "[t]he *first* steps…are naturally those which we regard with the deepest interest". These are all familiar tropes in this study. What is especially striking here is the implicit claim to continuity with Hakluyt's enterprise, in which the Hakluytian project of compiling navigation narratives in the service of expansionist colonial and mercantile ideology is adopted by his nineteenth-century successors. They, in turn, assume Hakluyt's materials and methods into their own project of mobilising geography as an epistemological tool with which to survey, define and dominate the empire.

I have noted the tendency of Victorian historiographers and antiquaries to engage in a constant search for origin events which, once submitted to the categories of the present moment (categories of nationality, territoriality, imperial statehood, confession, class and gender) could reinforce those categories and reify them as usable identity. Imperial ideologies could be reinforced by being projected backwards and assumed into a coherent narrative which also gestured towards the future. As George Birdwood's attempt to place the 1698 roll of subscribers in the IO Council Room demonstrates, the selection of specific events (and of the artefacts of texts which embody them) and the precise interpretations afforded them, could also be a way to intervene in present debates about policy and ideology. In a similar manner,

geographers adverted to the records of early modern exploration to strengthen the genealogical claims of their discipline and to reinforce partisan arguments about its present form and boundaries. The sacralization of early records by the reverential historiographical practices of state and official archives, historians and learned societies only made more desirable their capture as resources for self-definition. They could be used to claim an ideological and affective continuity with early explorers, strengthening the case of advocates of strenuous imperial exploration. When expeditions were successful, a comparison with Drake, Raleigh or Lancaster could confer upon a Stanley or a Speke the glow of participation in a long and noble enterprise; when they ended disastrously, like Franklin's or Scott's, the ability to invoke a genealogy of purportedly similar heroism, trauma and sacrifice would come in useful.[12]

This is the implicit claim being made, fifty years later, in the display of the court minutes at the anniversary event in 1896; it is the claim made again, fifty years after that in the Society's centenary volume *Hakluyt and His Successors*. In order to make sense of this claim, however, it is necessary to situate it within the broader history of

[12] It should not be surprising that histories of the Hakluyt Society's inception are as subject to prevailing historiographical winds as the materials to whose dissemination and interpretation the Society dedicated itself. Writing for the Society's centenary in 1946, Lynam emphasises the antiquarian influences on the Society's formation, and plays down the role of Cooley: in 1996, Bridges notes this as an excision, willed or not, of the historical record, and emphasises the discussions within the RGS regarding the delimitation of the discipline's proper field of labour. The first history privileges the role of individuals, scholarly labour, and the academy as a site of gentlemanly antiquarianism, avoiding the issues of ideology and praxis; the second largely dispenses with these same subjects except as specifically ideological expressions of disciplinarity and discourse, as sites of contention within a charged history of ideas in which much is at stake. It should be noted that Bridges' essay is part of a Hakluyt Society celebratory volume which consistently shies away from addressing questions of discipline and discourse *per se*, and which acknowledges the critical legacy of postcolonialism with a singularly evasive shrug of equivocation (pp. 38-41): the difference in tone is not programmatic, but simply – as far as one can reasonably tell – an expression of historiographical practice and discourse at the time of writing.

the rise of geography as a discipline, and the social and intellectual contexts of the production of knowledge through the mid to late nineteenth century.

ii: Imperial geography

In recent years, a growing body of scholarship has begun to address the disciplinary history of geographical studies in the context of imperial expansion and control. This approach derives largely from the sociological turn in the history of science since the 1960s, beginning roughly with Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and drawing on Foucauldian epistemic genealogy to arrive, via influential recent works such as those of Shapin and Schaffer, at a sense of knowledge, and the processes of its production and dissemination, as socially constituted, produced in "messy and contingent" ways.[13] In the introduction to his history of the discipline, David Livingstone traces the development of this approach to argue for a historical understanding of geography that is sensitive to the reactive exchanges and capillary interplay between text and context, the intramural and the extramural.[14] In this vein, several scholars have traced how the practice of geographical and associated sciences

[13] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, p. 70; Thomas Kuhn, *The History of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Phoenix, 1964).

[14] Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, pp. 1-31, especially pp. 28-30. See also David Matless, 'Effects of History', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 20 (1995), 405-409. Matless' short and provocative article provides an interesting partial critique of Livingstone's project as "revisionary yet reassertive, tracing a mutating species, yet a species nonetheless" (p. 405) Attempts to define geography as a discipline are particularly vexed, with frequent diagnoses of "vacuums" at its centre, as if it were possible (or desirable) to isolate a discipline's essence any more than to define its boundaries. This is a particular difficulty in the present study, where individuals such as Markham use the term with such promiscuity that it is often easier to enumerate the discrete fields which it is supposed to encompass than to identify why it is that those fields should be yoked together. To abandon the very notion of a discipline, however, gets one nowhere, and in order to interrogate what imperial geography and geographers actually did one must accept 'geography' as a discursive field with an internal topology which, however conflicted or incoherent, can nonetheless be described.

have responded to, been shaped by, and helped to shape European imperial ideologies and techniques of rule. Robert Mayhew has studied global geography in the political and cultural contexts of the Enlightenment; Anne Godlewska has situated Napoeleon's geographers and the *Description de L'Egypte* within an analogous tradition; Anne McClintock has investigated the intersections of geographies of conquest, desire, gender and disgust; Matthew Edney has written persuasively on the rhetorics of cartography in the case of British India, and the social networks, milieux and ideologies in which those rhetorics were negotiated; and Felix Driver has studied the geographical cultures of Victorian high imperialism.[15] In much of Europe, the discipline was largely defined, and its relationships with the imperial state mediated, by learnd societies. The Société de Géographie de Paris, founded in 1821, became a major site for the formulation of colonialist ideology and its relationship to scientific and explorational enquiry; the Berlin Geographical Society, founded 1828, struggled with the universities for academic validation but became, like the RGS, a major centre for the organisation of exploration in the latter half of the century.[16]

---

[15] Driver, *Geography Militant*; Driver, 'Henry Morton Stanley and his Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire', *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), 134-166 (pp. 142-144); Matthew H. Edney, 'Cartography Without Progress: Reinterpreting the Nature and Development of Historical Map Making', Cartographica, 30 (1993), 54-58; Edney, 'The Irony of Imperial Mapping' in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. by James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 11-45; Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India*, 1765-1843 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Edney, 'Mathematical Cosmography and the Social Ideology of British Cartography, 1780-1820', *Imago Mundi*, 46 (1994), 101-116; Edney, 'The Patronage of Science and the Creation of Imperial Space: The British Mapping of India, 1799-1843', *Cartographica*, 30 (1993), 61-67; Anne Godlewska, 'Napoleon's Geographers (1795-1815): Imperialists and Soldiers of Modernity' in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 31-55; McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 21-74; Robert Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Charles W. J. Withers, Diarmid Finnegan and Rebekah Higgitt, 'Geography's Other Histories? Geography and Science in the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1831-c.1933', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 31 (2006), 433-451.

[16] Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 24-48; Olivier Soubeyran, 'Imperialism and Colonialism Versus Disciplinarity in French Geography', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Godlewska and Smith (Oxford:

The Hakluyt Society is perhaps best understood as a product of this interaction between imperial power and metropolitan amateur societies and institutions of knowledge production. I touched in my introduction on the intimate relations of imperial governance with learned societies such as the RAS and BAS, the Royal Society and Kew. The links between the scientific establishment and colonial agencies goes back as far as the history of those agencies - the EIC's assistance with Halley's voyages, the use of St Helena, Cape Colony and (abortively) Bengkulu for observing the transits of Venus, and the interest of Robert Boyle in Socotran aloes are all examples of the constant exchange of ideas, information and material between the EIC and the RS in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[17] Several studies have been made of the involvement of the EIC and other mercantile and explorational enterprises in the networks that facilitated and directed the production of early modern scientific knowledge.[18] Precisely where imperial science shades over into imperial geography is difficult to determine, and runs the risk of imposing presentist disciplinary definitions on fields whose practitioners' understanding of them, and of the ways in which they interacted, would militate against such definitions.[19] However, the roots of the geographical establishment of the late nineteeenth century arguably lie in two

---

Blackwell, 1994), pp. 244-267 (pp. 246-252); Michael J. Heffernan, 'The Science of Empire: The French Geographical Movement and the Forms of French Imperialism', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Godlewska and Smith., pp. 92-114 (pp. 97-100); Karl Lenz, 'The Berlin Geographical Society 1828-1978', *Geographical Journal*, 144 (1978), 218-223 (pp. 218-220). For an explicitly political discussion of the later nineteenth-century context, and the growth of academic geography in German universities, see Gerhardt Sandner and Mechtold Rössler, 'Geography and Empire in Germany, 1871-1945', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Godlewska and Smith, pp. 115-127 (pp. 115-121).

[17] Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England*, p. 76, p. 132.

[18] See, for example, Harold J. Cook and David S. Lux, 'Closed Circles or Open Networks? Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution', *History of Science*, 36 (1998), 179-211; John Gascoigne, 'The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the "New World(s)", 1660-1800', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 42 (2009), 539-526; Winterbottom, 'Company Culture' pp. 70-115.

[19] Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, pp. 4-12.

developments: first, the emergence of the 'Banksian empire' in late eighteenth century London; and secondly the intensification of efforts to collate geographical and hydrographical information about the world, and especially those parts of it in which Britain had a colonial or military interest. The Banksian empire, perhaps more than any other influence, institutionalised a culture of *savant*-led science, in which the production of knowledge and social cachet were mutually constitutive: and, as David Miller has argued, it functioned in some senses as a "centre of calculation", in which globally-sourced information could be collated, combined and mobilised as knowledge.[20] Meanwhile, the continental revolution in the use of geometrical cartography as a tool of state power and national self-definition had reached Britain and its empire. James Rennell's 1782-88 survey of India had transformed, in Matthew Edney's formulation, "the multitude of political and cultural components of India with a single all-India state coincident with a cartographically defined geographical whole"; and the Ordnance Survey, formed in 1791 (with a prehistory originating in the 'pacification' of the Highlands after Culloden), was undertaking a similar project in subjecting the whole of Britain, fringes and all, to the "unified archive" of mathematically uniform spatial data.[21] At the same time, Alexander Dalrymple at the EIC and then concurrently at the Admiralty was engaged in the work of collating and combining all the available hydrographical data in order to make up for Britain's relative shortfall in standardized and reliable maritime charts and pilot books. As part

[20] David P. Miller, 'Joseph Banks, Empire, and "Centers of Calculation" in Late Hanoverian London', in *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany and Representations of Nature*, ed. by David P. Miller and Peter H. Reill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 21-37 (pp. 23-25).

[21] Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, p. 15; Edney, 'Mathematical Cosmography', pp. 109-110; Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, pp. 157-158; see also Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta, 2010).

of his work, he searched the old journals of the EIC - including some of those studied in Chapter 2 - for navigational information.[22] Simultaneously, the field of what areas of knowledge were admissible as 'geographical' was broadening. Over the long eighteenth century mathematical, human and chorographical geography had to some extent converged (not without resistance and fracturing); and in the Indian context, the peripatetic disciplinary commitments of Company employees and the demands of colonial governance had, by the time of Colin Mackenzie's survey of Mysore (1800-1807) made the field of observation generously inclusive.[23] The archive (in the abstract sense) of knowledge about colonsied territory and the people living within it could be mapped onto and contextualised within increasingly accurate renderings of geometrical space.[24]

The foundation of the RGS in 1830 can be seen as in some senses a culmination of these trends, further invigorated by what has been termed "Humboldtian science". The influence of Humboldt and his followers was instrumental in helping to define geography as a synthetic discipline which yoked the taxonomical models of Banksian and Linnaean biology into a practice of systematized global observation and data collection.[25] Felix Driver follows Cannon's and Miller's work in discussing the RGS as respectively a centre of this Humboldtian synoptic science and as a model of a Latourian centre of calculation. To an extent, both models hold out fantasies of combinable knowledge, in which disparate scientific languages and modes of

---

[22] Andrew S. Cook, 'Establishing the Sea Routes to India and China', pp. 129-131.
[23] Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, pp. 43-46.
[24] Bayly, *Empire and* Information, pp. 160-161; Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, p. 336; Marika Vicziany 'Imperialism, Botany and Statistics in Early Nineteenth-Century India: The Surveys of Francis Buchanan (1762-1829), *Modern Asian Studies*, 20 (1996), 625-660.
[25] Susan Cannon, *Science in Culture*: *The Early Victorian Period* (New York: Dawson, 1978), pp. 73-110; Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, pp. 137-8.

observation might be assumed into a balanced economy of information. Driver argues that "the task the RGS set itself in 1830 was to co-ordinate the geographical knowledge produced within [the] rapidly expanding discourse of exploration. This co-ordinating role had three essential features: the construction of guidelines for the recording of topographical and other geographical information in the field, according to standardized observational procedures and rules of measurement; the establishment of a centralized archive of authoritative geographical information, available to legitimate explorers and others to whom such knowledge would be useful (most notably, departments of government); the diffusion of geographical knowledge in a rational and educative manner."[26] As Driver recognises, the logical end-point of the work of aggregation – of formalizing the collection of data across the spectrum of available forms of knowledge, of storing it in such a way as to be able to cross-reference and digest it, and pass it onwards to agencies capable of turning it into a technology of power through action - suggests a close relation to Latour's model.[27] His conclusion, however, is necessarily hesitant: he cites the common objection to Latour's model that "notions of accuracy, calculation and information are themselves far from self-evident, but rather are negotiated in a variety of contingent, situated ways".[28] More practically, there is a degree of abstraction to the concept of a 'centre of calculation' that sits uneasily with application to the historically contingent reality of any actually existing organisation. A true centre of calculation requires a certain level of homogeneity in the information being dealt with: the RGS, as Driver points out, was host to a broad

[26] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 29.
[27] Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 27-37; Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 26.
[28] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 29.

coalition of interests producing a variety of scientific and scholarly discourses which were not inherently combinable.[29]

However much the RGS may have aspired to certain functionalities which modern historians might identify with Latour's model, it was also a situated product of a time and a culture, specifically that of the metropolitan learned societies: its own immediate institutional precursors were the African Association and the Raleigh Club, and it took its place alongside the Linnaean Society (founded 1788), the Geological (1807), the Civil Engineers' (1818), the Royal Astronomical (1820) and the Zoological (1826). Societies in London and in the provinces (where 'Literary and Philosophical Societies' gained traction following the founding of that in Manchester in 1781) became venues for the circulation of ideas and the negotiation of bourgeois masculine sociality: many began, and remained, essentially dining societies, whilst some, such as the RGS, became the primary fora for the consolidation of their disciplines and of the social worlds that sustained them.[30] This was a messy and complex process, in which disciplinary boundaries and definitions were often not so much negotiated as fought out, with considerable personal, political and ideological investment. However, a fantasy of comprehensive knowledge, gathered by rationalised means and deployed in the service of imperial power, was certainly asserting itself with increasing force; and one of its most vocal advocates was Clements Markham, whose personal history and that of the RGS are almost inseparable for much of the late nineteenth century. The rest of this chapter will focus on how Markham articulated this vision, first as head of the

[29] Driver, *Geography Militant*, p. 36.
[30] Cannon, p. 147; Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, pp. 156-160; Sandner and Rössler, pp. 116-117.

Geographical department at the IO, and then as editor of Hakluyt Society volumes of early modern travel narratives that he sourced from his work in the IOR.

iii: Clements R. Markham and the Geographical Department of the IO

Markham's career, more than any other in this study, demonstrates the kind of mobility across geographical space, disciplinarities, and cultural and institutional contexts which, as I argue in my introduction, makes the practice of biographical writing worth its inherent methodological risks. He joined the Navy as a cadet midshipman straight out of Cheam public school, sailed to South America, and accompanied the 1850-51 expedition to the Canadian Arctic in search of Franklin, shipping aboard the *Assistance*.[31] These trips inaugurated the two great obsessions of his life: polar exploration, and the geography and culture of Andean South America. The latter expedition provided him with his first publications, and upon leaving the Navy he travelled to South America, where he made himself a prominent authority on Peru and the Inca, translating early accounts of the Inca from Spanish and learning enough Quechua to publish a translation of the Inca drama *Ollanta* and a Quechua grammar and dictionary.[32] He was furiously prolific, and tended to produce as much printed material as possible from every project, often at the cost of consistency and quality: his 1852-3 trip to South America, apart from generating his interest in Quechua, produced

[31] Elizabeth Baigent, 'Markham, Sir Clements Robert (1830–1916)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/34880> [accessed 21 Sept 2014]; Albert Hastings Markham, *The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham* (London: John Murray, 1917), pp. 110-126.

[32] C. R. Markham, *Contributions Towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Incas of Peru* (London: Trubner, 1864); Markham, *Ollanta. An Ancient Ynca Drama [in three acts and in verse]. Translated from the Original Quicha* (London: 1871).

a pedagogical volume of geographical and cultural observations for the general English reader, and a projected two-volume memoir of the period which Markham continued to rework until his death.[33] The desire to collect and mobilize information to as many different ends as possible seems to have been a constant throughout his life.

From 1854 he worked for the Company, employed in various capacities; by the formation of the IO in 1858 he was a clerk in the Correspondence Section. In 1859 the IO commissioned him to prospect for cinchona plants in Andean South America, collect plant and seed specimens, and ship them to India for cultivation. Cinchona was at the time the only natural source of quinine, and the IO were well aware that a stable and plentiful source of antimalarials in India would significantly reduce mortality rates amongst both British and natives, amounting to a major prop to Imperial rule. Markham had little botanical training or specialised knowledge, and his role was essentially to organise and lead the expedition while trained gardeners, supplied in consultation with Kew, took care of the plants.[34] Most of the plants died after transplantation in India, and the scheme as a whole was not lastingly successful: only the inferior red bark variety survived to be cultivated, and the plantations that did survive in Ceylon, Assam and northern India would largely be supplanted by tea estates by the end of the century. Nonetheless, the enterprise created considerable excitement and was perceived as crucial to Britain's ability to exercise imperial power: as one commentator wrote, "if

[33] *Markham in Peru: The Travels of Clements Markham, 1852-1853*, ed. by Peter Blanchard (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. xv-xvi. A full bibliography can be found in A. H. Markham, *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, pp. 366-370.

[34] A. H. Markham, *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, pp. 164-206; Donovan Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Introduction of the Cinchona Tree into British India'. Markham's own account of the project is in Markham, *Travels in Peru and India: While Superintending the Collection of Chinchona [sic] Plants and Seeds in South America, and Their Introduction into India* (London: John Murray, 1862).

portions of [England's] tropical empire are upheld by the bayonet, the arm that wields the weapon would be nerveless, but for the Cinchona bark and its active principles."[35] If Markham and the IO had not succeeded in their bioprospecting enterprise, they had at least fashioned something of a propaganda coup. Markham was lionised in the salons and societies of London, and his career as a geographer was made.[36] (Williams suggests that, by contrast, the exhibition's three skilled gardeners were hardly recompensed for their labour.)[37] He had joined the RGS in 1853, and by 1863 was an honorary secretary; and his enthusiasms for manuscript scholarship, the history of colonial encounter in South America, and Arctic exploration led him naturally to the Hakluyt Society.[38]

Meanwhile, his work in the India Office involved him in the Revenue and Statistics Department, where he pursued his geographical interests and almost single-handedly set up the Geographical Department.[39] He was afflicted by an inability to get along with his employers: his scheme for continuing the cinchona project with massive

---

[35] G. Bidie, *Cinchona Culture in British India* (Madras, 1879), p. 2; quoted in Richard Drayton, *Nature's Rule: Science, Imperial Britain and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 209.

[36] Drayton, *Nature's Rule*, pp. 206-211. Drayton perhaps overstates the failure of the Cinchona initiative, as he does the effect upon Markham's career; which, though evidently given a spectacular start by the expedition (and his carefully managed narration of it), was not to be as smooth as Drayton implies. In emphasizing the extent of Kew's involvement in the project, and the ways in which the whole enterprise was enabled and in a sense controlled by Kew and the network of botanical gardens abroad with which it maintained strong ties, he demonstrates the extent to which Kew approximated David Miller's model of it as a centre of calculation well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Williams' narrative, by contrast, is almost unrelievedly hagiographical, positing Markham as almost a lone actor and a would-be saviour of India from Malaria, and the Council as inured to humanitarian considerations by their obsession with finances. More suggestively, there may have been a serious cultural division here over the purpose and intended reach of the Cinchona program, how much quinine was intended to be produced, who would have access to it, and how it would be paid for. It may be that Markham's near-pathological grandiosity and tactlessness (both of which Williams documents accurately) gave the IO sanction to repeatedly dismiss suggestions which threatened some of the implicit economies of value with which India was governed.

[37] Williams, 'Cinchona', pp. 440-441. The sources Williams quotes here are all Markham; the underpayment of the gardeners seems to have been part of his running feud with the India Office.

[38] Anon., 'Death of Sir Clements Markham', *Geographical Journal*, 47 (1916), 161-176 (p. 162).

[39] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department of the India Office, 1867-77', *Geographical Journal*, 134 (1968), 343-352.

organised distribution of quinine throughout India angered the Council with its scale and expense; he also continued to find excuses to take go abroad, often without official sanction. In 1867-8 he accompanied Sir Robert Napier's punitive British expedition to Abyssinia in the capacity of field geographer and naturalist.[40] Again, his role appears to have been more that of organiser and compiler than specialist: the maps that resulted are not signed by him, and the expedition's crew also contained an archaeologist, a meteorologist, a zoologist and a geologist. Nonetheless, his account of the journey was a publishing success.[41] In 1875-6 he took unpaid (and unannounced) leave to sail north with the *Terror* on Captain Nares' polar expedition.[42] The resultant rift with the India Office caused bad blood which would last until the end of his life. In the meantime, he had already served as secretary of the RGS from 1863, a post he would hold until 1888; from 1893 to 1905 he would serve as president. He was also secretary (1858–86) and then president (1889–1910) of the Hakluyt Society, and its most prolific contributor: in all he produced 29 volumes, served for a total on 37 years on the committee of either society, and did more than any other figure to sustain the Society into the 20th Century.[43] From the 1890s through to his death in 1916 he dominated British polar exploration through connections, expertise, and influence. Given the extremely intimate relations which the RGS at the time enjoyed with the British military state, Markham was able in some capacity to assume John Barrow's mantle as the *doyen* of

[40] A. H. Markham, *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, pp. 207-222.
[41] Savours, 'Clements Markham', pp. 173-175.
[42] See Caswell, 'The RGS and the British Arctic Expedition, 1875-76'. Caswell's account outlines the decade of agitation and argument which preceded the expedition, in which Markham's skills as writer/editor, propagandist and networker played prominent roles; the expedition's history also exemplifies the ways in which constellations of disciplines and techniques, scholarly societies, state agencies and individual actors determined the form of such ventures.
[43] A. H. Markham, *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, p. 226-228.

polar exploration. He was largely responsible for the selection of Captain Scott for the Antarctic expedition of 1901-4, and threw the considerable weight of his energy and advocacy behind both that expedition and the disastrous follow-up of 1911-13.[44] The last known entry in his journal before he died (according to his cousin Albert Hastings Markham's heroic biography, which has yet to be superseded) relates a visit to Scott's widow and young son, and his own godchild, Peter Markham Scott, for the loss of whose father he seems to have felt some responsibility.[45] During his lifetime, painted and photographic portraits often showed him with a picture of a cinchona plant and a small silver figurine of a man in polar gear pulling a sled, presented as a memento of the 1901-4 Scott expedition.[46]

The promiscuity and occasional eccentricity of his intellectual investments, and the often slapdash ways in which he pursued them, were inseparable from his mobility between disciplines and institutions. The breadth and volume of his scholarly output often outstripped its quality: William Foster wrote of his Hakluyt Society volumes that "though he was a rapid and indefatigable worker, his output was undoubtedly too hasty... No scholar (in the strict sense of the term), he thought it unnecessary for an editor to undertake elaborate researches". Even the notice of his death in the *Geographical Journal* was clear about his shortcomings: "[a]s a writer his industry, his facility, and his versatility were alike remarkable. The two latter qualities were indeed so pronounced as to be in a sense defects which impaired the quality of some of his

[44] Driver, *Geography Militant*, pp. 24-48.
[45] Savours, 'Clements Markham', p. 183; A. H. Markham, *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, p. 361.
[46] See portrait reproduced in frontispiece of A.H Markham, *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, which also features an impression of the figurine on the front binding.

work".[47] As the cinchona affair demonstrates, his talent in enabling and vociferously propagandising other peoples' specialised work was a major driving force of his success.

This biographical sketch should give some idea of the sheer range of Markham's activities, and what is arguably their common theme: the yoking of science, surveying, linguistics, biology, and historiography to an avidly expansionist and aggressive imperialism. His career exemplifies in many ways a process familiar to many modern intellectual historians of science, knowledge and empire: the enumerative and classificatory modalities of science become methods by which to index, interpret and dominate geographical space and its inhabitants; the technologies of navigation, exploration and cadastral surveying become modes of establishing and maintaining territorial and oceanic power and possession; biology provides the knowledge base for bioprospecting (which, in the case of the Cinchona project, enables the medical safeguarding of occupying military, administrative and settler classes); linguistics becomes translation, whereby the texts of indigenous peoples can be presented and interpreted to a metropolitan audience; and historical data and texts, diligently accumulated, become the means by which to establish a historical precedent and justification for present-day empire.

Markham joined the Board of Control as a clerk to the secret Department in 1854: not endowed with sufficient private means of support, and with dependents in

[47] Foster, 'The Hakluyt Society, 1846-1946. A Retrospect', in *Richard Hakluyt and his Successors*, ed. by Lynam, pp.141-170 (p. 156). G. R. Crone echoed this judgment: "Markham ... contributed many volumes to the Society's publications, though fewer volumes edited with greater care would have served his reputation better". (Crone, '"Jewells of Antiquitie": The Work of the Hakluyt Society', *Geographical Journal*, 28 (1962), 321-324, (p. 322).) Note that all of these quotes come from sources that are largely reverential about Markham's acheivements.

the form of his mother and sister, he needed paid employment to sustain his other interests. In 1858, with the abolition of the Board of Control and EIC, he was transferred to the Revenue Department of the IO.[48] Here he increasingly found that the disorganized state of the archives hindered his work; from 1861 to 1863 he worked as Private Secretary to Thomas Baring, Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for India, and, by his own account, began to feel acutely the lack of a systematized data retrieval apparatus: "All geographical and kindred work ceased to be performed. The records were lost or left to rot, and even the correspondence books were destroyed. Many precious documents were sold as waste paper, others were purloined or torn to pieces".[49]

I cover in chapters 4 and 5 the difficulty of recapturing the precise work conditions of the IO, and the conditions of the records, between 1858 and 1867. As I argue in Chapter 5, reports of disorder, and of the disposal of many potentially irreplaceable older documents, are largely credible, even when the context of their evocation calls for a degree of caution. Although there was no particular departmental or archival division for materials considered 'geographical', maps and charts had been kept largely together, in many cases thanks to the efforts of Dalrymple, and the records of surveys seem to have escaped dispersal.[50] In the early years of the India Office after 1858, John Walker was named 'Geographer', and attended at the IO one day a week to supervise the records. Walker had previously been Dalrymple's successor as Hydrographer, having engraved many of his charts. He was responsible for beginning

[48] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', p. 344.
[49] Markham, *Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, pp. 9-10.
[50] For instance, most of the papers relating to the Surveys of Bengal and India had been preserved in Series F: Surveyor's Department Records.

work on the *Atlas of India*, but found his own part in the labour largely impracticable. Likewise, in the Secret Department, and from 1858 in the revenue department, where he was private secretary to Thomas Baring, Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for India, Markham claimed that the difficulty of obtaining data from records made his job difficult.[51]

One of the major problems was the impossibility of locating land title records, without which questions of legal precedent and right in the administration of land revenue could not be pursued. I note in Chapter 3 the centrality of land title and legal codes to the symbiotic relationship of Company Orientalism and governance in the late eighteenth century: Bernard Cohn and Javed Majeed have described how the colonial state constructed a historiography of land tenure in the Subcontinent in order to formulate an understanding of native land law which would enable its subordination to British legal epistemology and practice.[52] This was a major historiographical coup, creating the means by which land title could be interpreted – a move which mobilised knowledge to consolidate colonial dominance somewhat analogously to, say, the bioprospecting of the cinchona tree. As with the cinchona project, however, the distance between theory and praxis cannot be understated: Markham and others were finding it desperately difficult to resolve individual cases due to the lack of solid data. Nor was this the only area in which defective data collection and storage was causing problems: Markham (according to his own account) also involved himself in surveys of irrigation, navigation, forestry and agriculture, and found results much the same. Meanwhile, one of his jobs was to prepare the annual *Report on the Moral and Material*

[51] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', p. 344.
[52] Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, pp. 57-75; Majeed, pp. 11-46.

Progress of India, a digest of despatches on the state of affairs in the subcontinent which was presented to Parliament every year: the job does not seem to have taxed him unduly, but would clearly have necessitated a certain facility in the aggregation and combination of statistics from dispersed sources.[53]

Here, Markham's appetite for self-promotion, and his commitment to geography as an ordered discipline for the aggregation of knowledge, led to his first major intervention in the records. The early 1860s, between the abolition of the EIC and the consolidation of the Undersecretary's power under Godley, saw considerable latitude allowed for experiment and innovation in the departmental structure of the India Office.[54] Noting that there had been certain steps in the right direction – for instance, the Public Works Department already received information on all matters relating to maps, charts, trigonometrical and geological surveys, meteorology, tidal observations, harbours, light-houses and hydrographical matters – he proposed the foundation of a Geographical Department. He wrote to a superior that "every department should be provided with copious memoirs on the subjects of which they treat, with copious references; and … in the interests of all departments, there should be a special branch to furnish that local information, without which accuracy is not possible."[55] In a fairly representative example of institutional cross-fertilization, it should be noted that he was encouraged and assisted in his campaign by Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India, who was a member of the RGS and a regular attendee at its meetings.[56] On the move to the new IO building in 1868, Markham's

[53] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', pp. 343-345.
[54] Kaminsky, pp. 31-56; Williams, *The India Office*, p. 94-96.
[55] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', p. 345.
[56] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', p. 345.

efforts paid off, and he was permitted to take charge of all geographical material for a trial period. A circular was issued in November of that year requesting that secretaries of Departments transfer to Markham all annual reports, maps, plans, surveys and charts received from India: this was followed by an order that the Supreme Government of India mark all such materials as "geographical".[57] He had achieved something of an informational coup: he had claimed for himself, and for geography as a discipline, a portion of the immense amount of data flowing in from India. Added to this inflow of information, of course, was the retroactive annexation of all the past records that fell under the new classification; and it was this work that was to occupy most of Markham's time in his new role. He was horrified – or so he wrote later, perhaps with an eye on self-aggrandizement and his chance of further employment – by the state of the records as they stood: "[t]he old correspondence books were destroyed; the Survey Reports were unnoticed; there was no arrangement of any kind for utilizing the work of the Surveys; and the valuable collection of maps and geographical documents was carted in a heap into a corner of a passage. Many of the maps were like much-used coffee-house table-clothes; they were folded in unequal sections, the margins frayed, and the edges broken and worn away. Many were lost, while whole editions had never been distributed or even unpacked."[58] Help was engaged to clean and restore the maps; by 1869, two years after beginning, Markham had begun to catalogue his holdings. There was institutional exchange of materials, maps especially: maps and documents were donated by outside institutions and archives as being properly the concern of the new department, and flowed outwards too as privileged artefacts, gifts, and

[57] Williams 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', pp. 345-346.
[58] *Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, p. 409.

advertisements for the Department's work: cleaned up, classified and well-presented, sets of maps were donated to Kew, to the RGS, to the War Office, the Privy Council Office, the Bodleian Library and the British Museum.[59]

In 1869 Markham brought out the *Memoir of the Indian Surveys*, an aggregated report of all the work undertaken so far by the various surveys: whilst it mostly deals with the surveys of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (i.e., materials in whose archival reorganisation he had largely avoided having to involve himself), a final chapter focuses on the "History of the Geographical Department".[60] What Markham presents here is, in fact, barely history at all, but an aggravated claim to the importance of his own project. It bears quoting at some length:

> A department for the systematic utilisation of the geographical work has been considered to be an important and indeed and essential element in the Home Government of a great Colonial Power, ever since Columbus first sailed from Palos. Bishop Fonseca was alive to its necessity ... In those days it was called the Office of the Cosmographer of the Indies, but, allowing for the difference of time, the duties were the same as those which should devolve upon a similar department at the present day. ...When the EIC was first formed in London, its enlightened managers had not then a great empire to administer...; but very few days had elapsed before they saw the necessity for a Geographical Department as part of their system of management. Correct geographical information was, they well knew, as necessary for a body of merchants as for the administrators of an empire; and two months after the incorporation of the Company we find Richard Hakluyt, the illustrious founder of the East India Geographical Department, preparing memoranda of the chief places where sundry sorts of species do grow, gathered out of the best and latest authors; of the prices of precious stones and spices; of what is good to bring from the Indies by him that is skilful and trusty... [Hakluyt] was the unpaid but most efficient head of the Geographical Department of the India House.[61]

[59] *Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, p. 415
[60] *Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, pp. 399-423.
[61] *Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, pp. 400-401.

This more than bears out the imputations of scholarly inaccuracy noted above. I dicuss in Chapter 2 the EIC's lack of anything resembling a centralised hydrographical office on the Spanish, Portuguese or Dutch model, and at no point in the seventeenth century did anything named a "Geographical Department" exist. The swerve into an aestheticized quasi-archaic diction in the description of Hakluyt's activities does little to efface the boldness with which Markham here imposes his own nineteenth-century disciplinary models and language on the early modern field.[62] As studies of the hydrographical office of the VOC have shown, these terms - largely the language of a nineteenth-century centre of calculation - are not always wholly inappropriate; but Markham's willingness to egregiously falsify the record with regard to the EIC indicates that that is hardly the point of this passage.[63] It is, rather, a manifesto and apologia for the kind of work he intended to do within the Geographical Department and the IO, and the kind of centre of calculation he hoped to build.

In 1875, Markham submitted a *Memorandum of Proposals for the Organisation and Conduct of the Statistical Work of the India Office, for the Special Committee on Statistics*, which articulated this ambition in the strongest possible terms.[64] This may have been something of a last-ditch effort for him: his position at the India Office was becoming distinctly uncomfortable. He had never been properly reimbursed for his work on the Geographical Department, which was conceived of as extra-curricular to his official postings; moreover, although it is unclear whether he knew this before

[62] Note that these do not reflect the terms or syntax used in Hakluyt's reports, nor in the Court Minutes referring to them (C/1 ref). The tone and structure of the passage is entirely Markham's invention.
[63] See my discussion of the archiving and custodianship of navigational material in the early EIC, Chapter 2, pp. 103-107.
[64] IOR L/R/4/29.

submitting the memorandum, having established the department and provided in its organisation for an official secretarial post which he anticipated would automatically be granted him, his superiors had already decided to award the job to one of his underlings. Within two years he would leave the India Office under a cloud, with considerable rancour on both sides.[65] It must remain open to question whether the 1875 memorandum is a plea for his own usefulness, a slightly histrionic demonstration of his commitment and vision, or an aggressive broadside in a battle he knew he was losing. Whatever else it might be, it is a remarkable document, a culmination of everything he had learned in the India Office Records and a model, in effect, for how an empire such as that of the British in India might collect, store, retrieve, manipulate, interpret and disseminate its information.

A full facsimile of the document is provided in Appendix D, pp. 348-369. It begins:

> The statistical work of the India Office is grouped under 4 heads, and the aim should now be to establish an efficient and harmonious system by which all existing information may be readily available, the methods of bringing it together may be watched and amended, and final results may be eventually reached. … classification is the beginning of all accurate enquiry, and until the materials for investigation have been not merely arranged, but classified on correct principles, no advance can be made… with it every subject, and every sub-division of a subject, fall naturally into their places, and progress is steadily made.[66]

Markham's four proposed divisions of work can be itemised as follows:

- Classification of materials ("the already accumulated and annually arriving material")
- Investigation of statistics ("investigation and inter-comparison of data, with a view to reaching definite conclusions")
- Assistance in the collection of statistics

[65] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', pp. 349-351.
[66] IOR L/R/4/29, p. 3.

- Supply of statistical information ("for official use, and for the Parliament and the people of this country")[67]

First, the classification of materials: Markham occupies almost half of the document (a total of 63 numbered paragraphs) in outlining a complex taxonomy of data, with all classes of information divided by group and subgroup. For almost every conceivable classification of data, there is a carefully-contructed list of divisions and sub-divisions: In the big long list of divisions and subdivisions: literature, police, jails, civil suits, criminal justice, administration, municipalities, military, hydrography, irrigation, agriculture, navigation, language, demographics, and so on.[68] The entry for "life", for example, encompasses "registration; wages; sanitation, which embraces all subjects related to diseases and their amelioration; and emigration"; likewise, "The statistics of protection embrace civil and criminal justice, jails, and police; and those of instruction are divided under the four heads of schools and colleges, missionary work, and science and art". At the foot of every list of sub-divisions is the stipulation: "…for as far back as there is record/are records", or "Early history", or "History": the need to extend the work of knowledge backwards in time, learned through the problems with land title deeds and perhaps intensified by Markham's historical obsessions and the bewildering scale of the historical material he had encountered in the archives, is constantly insisted upon.

Part of the sophistication of the scheme lies in Markham's conscious appreciation of the ways in which his four divisions of work interact as part of a whole:

---

[67] IOR L/R/4/29, p. 3.

[68] Edney notes the use of similar tables by James Rennell and Francis Buchanan in their Indan surveys, and locates their genesis within an enlightenment practice of geography which effectively resurrected forms of chorography in order to produce a systematized and comprehensive knowledge of a world divided up by region. (Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, pp. 41-53)

just as the collection of data determines to a large extent its classification, so classification determines the processes and results of investigation. Data is mobile – transferrable back and forth across the network, from periphery to core and back again – and it is immutable, the same flowing in as flowing out, unaffected by context. One need only to find the right ways of processing it. To a degree unusual in departmental memos within the India Office, Markham adverts to abstractions and first principles in his explanations of how the details of work should proceed, and is anxious to convey the sense that his densely enumerative classifications and his close attention to details are grounded on a substantial theoretical base. So, for the work of "investigation",

> "The three bases of all statistics are space, number, and time. Space is the abstract of all relations of co-existence; number, of all relations of comparison; time, of all relations of sequence. In correct classification, the Surveys and other Census Returns must come first, and remain separate as the bases of all other investigations."[69]

This, then, applies further divisions of data, somewhat against the grain of the partitions already proposed: the impression given is of a conception of data, once enough control is exerted over its collection and reception, and once the right matrices have been devised in which to process it, as infinitely recombinable according to the requirements of the questioner. Indeed,

> The new system must become useful as soon as it is commenced, and this end can be secured first by dealing with the current year, and working backwards until the whole collection of documents in the office is classified, not on a mere chronological plan like the Calendars of State Papers, but on scientific principles. Thus there will at length be the ready means of gaining a complete knowledge of the history of every measure and every subject relating to India and, moreover, *desiderata* will be detected and supplied. For, as regards many important measures, the material for their accurate comprehension is not now

[69] IOR L/R/4/29, p. 5.

> in the India Office. The absence of these missing papers will appear by following the proposed system, while by any other they will not be known to be absent until too late, *i.e.*, until actually wanted.[70]

This is perhaps the end-point of any project of a perfectly-organised archive: since the structure in place corresponds exactly to that of whatever could be known or worth knowing about the archive's subject (in this case, British India), any gap in the archival fabric necessarily corresponds to data that is missing and must be supplied. Essentially, Markham's rhetoric here corresponds closely to the fantasy Thomas Richards diagnoses of an informational system that would be free of entropic wastage, "a sort of vast railway switchyard capable of being controlled by the right signals and switches, if only they could be found".[71] It might be instructive here to recall Markham's intimate involvement with the work of the Indian Surveys: just as the data produced by surveying methods can be abstracted, processed, recombined and then (literally) mapped into the graticule of latitude and longitude to create a representation of geographical space which can be viewed synoptically, Markham's plan here envisages a similar process for all the data of governance. the "mere chronological plan" of other state archives is to be abandoned in favour of a model which temporality subordinate to classification by data type and geographic space: when an action was undertaken or a measurement made is less important than what kind of measurement it was, where it happened, or what it indicates. The analogy of the graticule is instructive, too, on the limits implied by such a reorientation: while the surveying data transferred to a cartographic representation can illuminate absences of knowledge, two features cannot

[70] IOR L/R/4/29, p. 12.
[71] Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, pp. 73-109 (p. 74); IOR L/R/4/29, p. 4.

occupy the same space. On the level of time, this means that change and process are rendered null: an effect which, coincidentally, may be liable to reinforce the conception of colonial space (and its inhabitants) as unchanging and ahistorical. It also refuses to recognise the possibility of contradictory data, of two statements being made about the same object: whatever the archive does not allow space for – whatever has no classificatory marking or place in the structure – is, by necessity, not worth knowing; or, more suggestively, cannot really exist. The perfect archival order simultaneously illuminates absences to be supplied and forecloses on the possibility of anything outside of its frames of reference. To assume that, could one only find the magic taxonomic key, the necessarily chaotic and contradictory inward flow of information to the colonial centre of calculation could be rendered susceptible to the same types of combinatory technologies as those which make maps, is to envisage a flattening of that intelligence, a shearing of complexity and valence; one imagines that the synoptic view thus produced would suffer problems of misrepresentation, misprision and plain inaccuracy that would dwarf those produced by the distortion involved in representing geodetic space on a planar surface.[72]

These, then, are the more abstract elements of Markham's proposals: if anyone expresses a conception of a working archive truly analogous to the features of a Latourian centre of calculation in the India Office's history, this is probably it. This ideal of free-flowing information moving towards a grand goal of unified knowledge, and its extension into other areas, is legible in the following paragraph, alongside

[72] Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, pp. 1-36.

Markham's opportunistic hint that his own efforts have constituted no small part of the progress made so far:

> The formation of the Geographical Department of the India Office has supplied the necessary machinery for such work, as regards the principal basis of statistics. The officers in charge of the surveys thus constantly keep up an interchange of views and ideas with the India Office, while the Department supplies them with information, and especially with maps and geographical documents prepared in other countries, for purposes of comparison. The same arrangement should exist as regards every other statistical group. In the case of surveys and cartographic illustration, although a vast amount of work is before us, a good system is established, and steady progress is being made in the right direction. The engraving of the *Indian Atlas*, upon the completion of which so much depends, is advancing rapidly. Every year fresh improvements are introduced with a view to the more rapid supply of accurate topographical information. Progress is being made in the introduction of a cadastral survey on correct principles throughout India. Meteorology, by dint of repeated reminders, is now likely to be placed on a satisfactory footing. Through the same means, the Department of Marine Surveys has been created, and long neglected work of the first importance has been recommenced, while all questions of surveys, of the proper sites for lighthouses, and of wrecks and casualties at sea, will be dealt with by those who are qualified to advise upon them by previous training. As regards departmental work, a classified catalogue has been completed, so that there is full knowledge of all geographical documents and records in the India Office, and the system of memoir and annual abstracts has been in force for the last four years. Thus the chief basis of statistics though very incomplete as regards work in the field, is now arranged and organized on a workmanlike system."[73]

The point is made, again, that the first territory to be mapped is that of the existing records: and here is where the earlier records of the East India Company come in:

> If all the materials in the India Office were arranged and classified under these groups, divisions, and sub-divisions, and finally according to localities and years, it is obvious that the complete history of any or every measure and every subject that may come under consideration could be furnished in ten minutes. At present these materials are in the state which printers call "pie."
>
> …The whole of the IO records, printed and in manuscript, should be classified and arranged on the above system, including all the Consultations which fill the

[73] IOR L/R/4/29, p. 14.

> cellars, all the Proceedings of Governments, all Despatches and Collections from India in every department, all reports, Selections from records, contents of Gazettes and Supplements, and published books or articles bearing on the above subjects. … the period covered will be a hundred years for the leading subjects and two or three hundred years for a few, such as trade, military operations, and marine surveys. It is of the greatest consequence to carry back every question as far as records are available; for inter-comparison is the main function of statistics, and, as regards some of the most important such as the phenomena of prices they must be considered with reference to a large number of years.[74]

The final task of the statistics department, as Markham saw it, would be the supply of information "for official use, and for the Parliament and the people of this country". In the final category, he envisaged a yearly digest of the state of India, with reports on infrastructure, trade, and the (morally, spiritually and culturally improving) state of life of the inhabitants. This was to be much like the *Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India* which he had experience of preparing on a yearly basis for Parliament, but on a rather grander scale, comprehensible to the general public and suitable for mass dissemination: it would, in essence, mobilise the vast informational resources of the statistical office and of the archive it commanded towards the creation of a popular scoresheet of colonial policy, envisaged inevitably as being generally in credit. The keepers of the archive could, it would be envisaged, also carve themselves a role as the exegetes of imperialism to the British public.

Markham's scheme, perhaps unsurprisingly, was not put into effect as he envisaged it: but, arguably, his memorandum eloquently expresses an aspiration towards something like a universal imperial archive, a technology of total knowledge at the centre of imperial power. Given his peripatetic intellectual training in the

[74] IOR L/R/4/29, p. 11.

emergent discourses of geography (conceived of as an accounting of the known world and everything in it), a conviction of the importance of historical perspective in understanding the knowledge it could provide, and a conviction of the value of such information both as the basis of policy for governmental purposes and as material for the instruction of the public – and given, too, his intimate contact with the older records of the East India Company and his knowledge of the actual contents of the archive, a knowledge well-nigh unparalleled at the time – his involvement in something like the Hakluyt Society seems inevitable. The significance of the Court Minutes extract shown at the Society's fiftieth anniversary dinner, too, seems greater in the light of Markham's efforts at the India Office: to collect the records of navigations is laudable enough in itself, but to make oneself a clearing-house for that information and redirect it in the service of nascent Empire might seem, to someone as given to thinking ambitiously about the uses of geographic data as Markham was, like something of a proleptic act.

As ever, however, the fantasy was compromised: not by the resistances of communicational and informational technologies, nor by its utopian unworkability, but by the resistance of personality, ideology, professional friction and controversy. The document was largely ignored; Markham, whose relationship with Louis Mallet had already largely broken down, sailed on Nares' expedition, during the fitting-out of which he had been consistently absent from the IO, often without leave or explanation; the 1875 edition of the *Moral and Material Progress of India* had to be farmed out to a subordinate; and, finally accepting that his promotion would never come, Markham took a pension in 1877.[75]

[75] Williams, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department', pp. 349-350.

iv: Markham's *Voyages of James Lancaster*: a case study

I have shown how Markham's conviction that the records of the past could be incorporated into a comprehensive archive of geographical knowledge were articulated in his administrative work and wider writing. How this conviction determined his editorial practice in the volumes he produced for the Hakluyt Society can be addressed in a case study of his 1877 volume *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster.*

By 1877, when he left the IO, he had already produced eight volumes for the Hakluyt Society.[76] His *Lancaster* is not the first Hakluyt Society volume to focus on the EIC's early voyages, nor the first to make use of the Company's manuscript archives. However, up until its issue in 1877, earlier volumes had focused on using manuscript material from the Company and from a range of state archives – the Record Office, the British Museum collection, the Chapel of the Rolls – to supplement, often in the form of appendices or footnotes, material culled with little modification or editorial intervention from Purchas. Thomas Rundall's 1849 volume *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West, in search of a passage to Cathay and India, 1461 – 1631 with selections from the early records of the Honourable East India Company and from MSS in the British Museum* contents itself (as its title does not quite make clear) largely with reproducing a selection of material on the North-West Passage from Hakluyt and Purchas, somewhat meagrely supplemented by extracts from the Court Books, some transcriptions from the Original Correspondence Series and, at one point, the first copy in print of the now-famous journal entries from the Company's third

[76] Savours, 'Clements Markham', p. 85.

voyage which purport to record productions of *Hamlet* and *Richard II* aboard the *Dragon,* lying off Madagascar in September of 1607.[77] Bolton Corney's 1855 volume *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands, etc .from the edition of 1606* is somewhat more open in its choice of title, since the bulk of the volume consists of a reproduction, with facsimile title pages but largely modernised orthography, of a contemporary booklet;[78] but it adds in appendix a substantial selection of letters and commissions from the First Letter-Book (including the royal and Company commissions of Middleton discussed in Chpater 2)[79] and extracts from some manuscripts in an (unidentified) archive in Rome, featuring copies of Ludovico de Varthena and Linschoten writing on the Moluccas – which, themselves, seem to be translations taken, in an increasingly mysterious and untraceable series of transmissions and appropriations, from sources both published and unpublished in Spain and Mexico.[80] These are the two volumes which make significant use of East India Company material prior to Markham's *Lancaster*, and while they indicate that certain sections of the records were at least accessible either side of the upheaval of 1858, the relatively limited range might seem to indicate an archive in which it was not possible to delve very deeply.

Markham's *Lancaster*, by contrast, flaunts an intimate knowledge of the archive. It retains the vaguely bipartite structure of the former volumes, dedicating the first half of the book to four large excerpts from Purchas and then presenting a selection

---

[77] Rundall, *Narratives of Voyages Toward the North-West*, p. 231.

[78] Bolton Corney, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands; being the Second Voyage set forth by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East-Indies. From the Edition of 1606*, Hakluyt Society 1st series, 19 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1855), pp. 1-79.

[79] *Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, Appendix, pp. 1-7.

[80] *Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, Appendix, pp. 46-52.

of abstracts and transcriptions from sources in the Company archive (although, eloquently, the Company materials are not formally subordinated by relegation to an appendix); but the range and depth of material on offer is dramatically improved. Moreover, Markham makes his volume explicitly *about* this material, writing extensively on it in the introduction and conveying, more clearly and consciously than his predecessors, an idea of what he thought of himself as trying to do. He had behind him his unparalleled access to and knowledge of the contents of the early Company archive, and he also seems to have had a clearer sense of how its pieces fit together (or how they *should* fit together) and of what work it could (and perhaps should) be made to do. Indications of this are apparent in Markham's dedication to the book:

> DEDICATION
> TO
> COMMANDER A. DUNDAS TAYLOR
> (LATE R.I.N)
> SUPERINTENDENT OF MARINE SURVEYS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
>
> MY DEAR TAYLOR,
>
> I inscribe to you, as one who has, through a long and useful career, been instrumental in upholding the reputation of the Indian Navy, this volume containing the narratives of voyages of some of the earliest of your predecessors.
>
> Lancaster, Middleton, Downton, Best, and the other famous seamen who showed England the way to India, commence the long and glorious roll of public servants who made the history of the Indian Marine; while the great names of Davis and Baffin, famous alike in Arctic Regions and in the Indian Ocean, stand at the head of the list of Indian Marine Surveyors.
>
> It has been your good fortune, after that most useful branch of the Public Service—the Indian Navy—had been recklessly abolished, and after the surveys had been entirely neglected for twelve years, to restore them to efficiency. That you may succeed in maintaining that efficiency, and thus achieve a work which I know to be as near to your heart, as it is important to the interests of England and of India, is the earnest hope of your sincere friend and well-wisher,
>
> CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.[81]

[81] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, dedication, unpaginated.

The claim to continuity here is strenuous. The journals of early traders and explorers are presented as the inauguration of an explicitly geographical work, which is also, by the last paragraph, a political one. "Efficiency" in surveying – the gathering of data that can be made into knowledge – is the primary condition of a continuity which must be defended against interruption by poor governance. The abolition of the Royal Indian Navy after 1857 is the kind of intervention, Markham implies, that breaks a line going back hundreds of years – a line that unites the accretion of geographical knowledge with the work of Empire embodied in the "interests of England and of India": political and geographical entities separately named but emphatically yoked.

As with the wholly fictitious description of the IO's "Geographical Department" in *Memoir of the Indian Surveys*, the invocation of genealogy and inheritance here erases the difference between the nineteenth-century imperial technocrat and the seventeenth-century ship's officer or Company factor: the original aims of the latter become emptied out and filled anew with the Victorians' projection of their own Imperial teleology. If the officers of the Marine Surveys are invited to project themselves into the places of the East India Company's voyagers, to whom does Markham trace his own lineage? To an extent, of course, he identifies himself with the early modern compilers and editors - *vide* the naming of the Society itself and the negotiations that led to it, the promotional and constitutional materials that were devised in 1846. A paragraph from the 1896 address makes this clearer:

> Like all his other works, his *Divers Voyages* had a direct and practical object. Hakluyt was an ardent advocate of colonization. But the first step must be the enlightenment of his countrymen by the supply of information. Collecting it from all available sources, he brought together various accounts showing the history of the discovery of the whole of the east coast of North America. He

> thus gave his readers the fullest particulars them known, so that his *divers Voyages* was the first impetus to colonization.[82]

If there is an identification with the work of Hakluyt and Purchas, however, the collapsing of the historical gap also enables a critical engagement with their work which gestures toward an evaluation of it by the same rubric that condemns inaccuracy in the Victorian present. Like many of the Hakluyt Society's writers, Markham left Hakluyt's saintly aura intact (not difficult, since Markham's materials, like those of the majority of the Hakluyt Society editors, intersected relatively little with Hakluyt's) and engaged with Purchas as an editorial and archival *bête noire*.[83] In the introduction to *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* he provides a sketch of the records of the early voyages which uses Purchas' by then proverbial editorial and archival carelessness as leverage in an implicit argument for the importance of his own work in the Geographical Department:

> I will now proceed to give some account of the materials that have escaped destruction, and of the abstracts given in Purchas. ... [Purchas] resolved to abridge and epitomise his materials, and, in this form, he published them in four folio volumes in 1625, with the well-known title *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*. The Indian voyages are given in the first volume, books

[82] Markham, 'Richard Hakluyt: His Life and Work', p. 8.

[83] See, for instance, Bolton Corney: "[Hakluyt] edited two valuable works, and procured the publication of two others. Another service remains to be stated. He undertook the Custody of the manuscript journals of the voyages and travels to which it was held unadvisable to give immediate publicity; comprising voyages to Virginia and to the north-western seas, and all of East-India voyages from 1601 almost to the date of his decease in 1616. … [Describing Purchas' editorial policy]: Had due measures been adopted for the preservation of the unmutilated journals, no objection could have been made to epitomisation. I believe, however, they were left to the chance of destruction, and that most of them have perished! By whose authority were they successively entrusted to Hakluyt and Purchas? Were they not claimed on the death of Purchas? … An estimate of the amount of mutilation committed by Purchas in the course of his editorial proceedings would be useless, if it were possible; but it seems incumbent on me to report how far the censure applies to the voyage in question. I believe the particulars will be read with surprise, if not with indignation. His treatment of Clayborne is stated in the notes, and shall not be repeated. With regard to the journal which forms the text of this volume, exclusive of the three royal letters he compressed it into less than one-twentieth part of its real extent!" (*Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, p. 3).

> iii, iv, and v. This method of treatment would not, as Mr Bolton Corney has observed, have been objectionable if due care had been taken to preserve the original manuscripts. Sir Thomas Smith died in the year that the *Pilgrimes* was published, on September 4, 1625, and Purchas followed him in 1626. From that time these priceless materials for the opening chapter of the history of British India have been neglected. Many of the manuscripts are lost, and those that survive are sadly injured by damp and rats. Subsequent historians have never made use of them, but have contented themselves with the meagre and careless abstracts given by Purchas.[84]

Again, the implicit self-advertisement is clear. Markham's trump card is that, in his work building up the Geographical Department, he has not only unearthed a plethora of materials relating to all aspects of the early voyages, but, as a conscientious aggregator of knowledge, he has been able to cross-reference them, to trace their textual antecedents, and to speculate on the movements of individual texts as well as the relations between them.

As Markham's portmanteau title indicates, the volume is comprised of three main components: accounts of the first voyage undertaken by the East India Company in 1600 – 1603 under the command of Sir James Lancaster; abstracts of a selection of documents of various kinds relating to subsequent voyages, none of them dating later than 1613; and John Knight's partial journal of a voyage undertaken in search of the North-West passage in 1606.

Clearly, the volume is something of a bricolage of sources, with a range of rationales behind their presentation. The first is the biographical. Markham begins his introduction:

> The Council of the Hakluyt Society have resolved to reprint the narratives of the voyages of Sir James Lancaster, from the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, in order that they may be brought together in one volume. Lancaster

[84] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, Introduction, pp. vii-viii.

> was one of the leading seamen of the reign of Elizabeth, and he commanded the two first English voyages to the East Indies. He was afterwards on the direction of the East India Company; he was a great promoter of voyages of discovery; and, as such, his name was immortalised by William Baffin, who called one of the chief portals of the Arctic regions—'Sir James Lancaster, his Sound'.[85]

Markham's trick of turning almost any subject back to his obsession with polar exploration recurs throughout the book – the duplication of personnel between the East India trade and the search for a North-West Passage allows a conflation of the two enterprises which clearly resonates with his sense of his own historical moment, and the two disciplinary frontiers of Geography for which he advocated most passionately: the mobilization of geographical databases in imperial governance, and the organised exploration of the polar regions. As for bringing the narratives together in one book, the consolidation is a relatively simple matter: three of the narratives appear in Hakluyt and one in Purchas. The first narrative was written by Hakluyt, "written from the mouth of" Edmund Barker, a lieutenant in the first expedition of 1591-4. Hakluyt interviewed him between his return in May of that year and his departure in the autumn, on an expedition – again commanded by Lancaster – which culminated in a raid on the Portuguese settlement of Pernambuco (present-day Recife), in which Barker was killed. The second narrative is another post-facto account of the first voyage, written by Henry May, and contains an account of being shipwrecked on Bermuda. The third is a relation of the Pernambuco raid, written as if by a participant but with no named author. All three appeared in *Principall Navigations* in 1600. The fourth narrative is of

[85] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. i.

Lancaster's first voyage on behalf of the East India Company (1600-1603), and again, no author is indicated; it is excerpted in full from *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1625).[86]

In all four cases, Markham takes the materials largely as given; he reproduces the original orthography, and does not follow up questions of original authorship or editorial policy. What he does do, however – and this is a common feature of many Hakluyt Society editions – is provide a scholarly commentary in the form of footnotes. These are often a matter of clarifying topographical information: supplementing placenames in the original text with their modern equivalents, giving co-ordinates of places whose position is unclear, and tidying up issues of naming which are often, also, issues of language. Matters of topography and navigation are a matter not only of history, but of present surveying and recommendations for future clarification. The first reference to "the mighty island of St. Laurence" stimulates the following footnote:

> Madagascar was first made known to Europe by Marco Polo. It was seen by Lorenzo de Almeida, the son of the first Portuguese Viceroy in India, in 1506; and called San Lorenzo, by which name it appears on the earlier Portuguese charts.[87]

Moving forward in time, reference to "the Iland of Cardu" elicits this:

> One of the Maldive group, which extends from 7˚ 6' N. to 0˚ 6' S. But Lancaster must have been among the Chagos islands and banks, extending from 7˚ 29' S. to 4˚ 44' S. They were minutely surveyed by Captain Moresby in 1837.[88]

Adjacent to this, the historical frame jumps forward again, and a section of narrative about an island named "Rogue-Pize" is graced with the following suggestion:

---

[86] *Hakluytus Posthumus*, II, pp. 392-437.
[87] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 5, fn.
[88] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 68, fn.

> Roquepez, a low sandy island, said to be in 6˚ 24' S. and 60˚ 4' E.; but its existence has been doubted, and Captain Taylor suggests that one of Her Majesty's steamers should settle the question of the position of this and other doubtful dangers. (*India Directory,* 1874, p.536.)[89]

Questions of geography are also questions of language: Lancaster's arrival in Aceh in 1601 inspires the following:

> The name is properly Acheh. The Portuguese turned it into *Achem*, and the English call it *Achin*, the Dutch *Atjin*. Colonel Yule suggests that we got our form of the word from the Arabs, who have *Achin.* It is so written in the *Ain Akbari* and in the geographical tables of Sádik Isfahaní. (See *Geographical Magazine*, Aug. 1873, p. 175.)[90]

Language itself is sometimes discussed: a list of Malay words learned in Achin/Aceh provokes this series of consecutive footnotes:

> [1] The Malay name is *ñur*, in Javanese *hâlapa*.
> [2] *Pisang*, a banana in Malay.
> [3] *Babi* is the most general name for a hog throughout the Malayan islands.[91]

In this way the accumulated knowledge of the modern linguistic archive is applied to geography, place-names, and tentative lexicons: and that archive includes the work of geographers of other and earlier cultures, the different transculturations of competing European empires, and the work of Markham's own colleagues in the Hakluyt Society (Henry Yule was a major figure) and the Royal Geographical Society.[92] Markham's

---

[89] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster,* p. 69, fn.
[90] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster,* p. 74, fn.
[91] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 15, fn.
[92] Yule, although not trained in Oriental languages, was president of the RAS in 1886-7, and was best known as the author of the Anglo-Indian colloquial glossary *Hobson-Jobson.* For an account of his contribution to the Hakluyt Society, see R. J. Bingle, 'Henry Yule: India and Cathay', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth*, ed. by Bridges and Hair, pp. 142-163.

intimate knowledge of the Indian Marine Surveys helps him to articulate a historical conception of geography wedded to an assumption not only of its constant progress but also of this text's own potential agency in influencing that progress; similarly, language and culture is plotted within the archive, viewed synoptically across time and space. Within the space of a page, these additions to the text can move from the purely historical – a précis of the biography of the King of Aceh at the time of Lancaster's visit – to a biological investigation in which, with the aid of a present-day colonial administrator, a hitherto uncatalogued species is assigned its place in Linnaean taxonomy: "Mr Homfray, the officer in charge of the Nicobar Islands, informs me that the curious animal, described in the text, is common at the Nicobar Andaman Islands… and is, he thinks, one of the coralliferous polyps".[93]

Fragments of the actual archive – from printed books of the early seventeenth century, from the manuscript collections of the British Museum, and from the publications of the Victorian scholarly establishment – are also imported into the text: at one point Markham inserts as a footnote the text of an entire letter by Lancaster as preserved in the British Museum's Additional Manuscripts series, and at another refers readers to Bolton Corney's edition of an early printed account of one of the early East India Company voyages. [94] The text is embedded not only in the existing knowledge of the world, its contents and its history, but explicitly tied into the scholarly and administrative apparatus for producing that knowledge: at yet another point, encountering a single peripheral mention of a John Chudleigh (a late sixteenth-century

[93] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. 73-74.
[94] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 58, p.65. The letter manuscript is preserved in BL Add. Mss. 1873, fol. 53.

sea-captain, explorer and failed circumnavigator), he inserts a long footnote beginning "One would like to know more of this romantic voyage, and of its gallant projector" – not, of course, omitting to connect his name to the Arctic. [95]

It is in the second and bulkier part of the volume that Markham's talent for aggregation takes centre stage: the narratives of East India Company voyages and the single narrative of the North-West passage. There is no particular link with the figure of James Lancaster since, as Markham acknowledges in his introduction, there are no remaining manuscripts of journals from either of Lancaster's voyages: although some letters remain in various state archives (such as the one he appends in a footnote as detailed above), anything belonging to the East India Company seems to have been lost through Purchas. Likewise no manuscript accounts remain of the Company's second voyage (1604-1606) under Sir Henry Middleton, although this is mitigated by plentiful material in Purchas and the independent publication of an account of the voyage in 1606 (later reproduced in Corney's 1855 Hakluyt Society edition). The remaining documents begin with the Company's Third Voyage under command of Captains Keeling and Hawkins in 1606-1609: Markham provides three documents for this voyage. The fourth voyage provides two documents, the sixth provides five, and there is one document from the tenth. These sections are followed by Markham's own catalogue of ship's journals preserved in the India Office, featuring all known documents that fall under that description all the way up to 1701, a second catalogue of the ships involved in those voyages, and – presented separately – John Knight's journal of the 1606 expedition in search of the North-West passage.

[95] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 19.

The following list itemizes by voyage the documents Markham includes, their pagination in the volume, a brief description, and their current shelfmark in the archive:

Third voyage (1606-1609), Captains Keeling and Hawkins, ships *Dragon* and *Hector*:

pp. 108-110: Keeling's journal in the *Dragon*, first page only.
IOR L/MAR/A/III

pp. 111-112 : Journal by unknown author, under command of William Hawkins in the *Dragon.*
IOR L/MAR/A/IV

pp. 113-119: Journal by two authors, William Finch and Robert Herne.
IOR L/MAR/A/V

Fourth voyage (1608-1610), Captains Sharpeigh and Rowles, ships *Ascension* and *Union*:

pp. 120-125: Journal of Sharpeigh in the *Ascension*.
IOR L/MAR/A/VI

Sixth voyage (1610 - 1613) under Sir Henry Middleton and Capt. Nicholas Downton. Ships *Trades Increase, Peppercorn, Darling*:

pp. 131-136: Instructions to factors
IOR L/MAR/5/4[96]

pp. 137-144: Sir Henry Middleton's commission from the East India Company, 17th March 1610IOR A/1/6[97]

pp. 145-146 Partial account of the voyage, no author given.
IOR L/MAR/A/IX

pp. 147-150 Journal of Thomas Love on *Trades Increase* and *Peppercorn*, with notes on Nicolas Downton's return via Waterford in the *Peppercorn.*
IOR L/MAR/A/X

[96] There are two extant copies of this document: Markham appears to have consulted the one in Marine Records, Miscellaneous (formerly IOR L/MAR/C, recently renamed L/MAR/5). Another copy exists in the Home Miscellaneous Series (IOR H/1), and is transcribed in *The First Letter Book*, pp. 331-336.

[97] This document is kept in IOR Series A: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties – the first series in George Birdwood's partition of 1878, containing the 'Parchment Records' (see Chapters 4 and 5).

pp. 151-227 Journal of Nicholas Downton on the *Peppercorn.*
BL Sloane MS 858 fols 74-101

Tenth Voyage (1612-1615) under Thomas Best. Ships *Hoseander, Hector, James, Solomon*

- pp. 228-262 Journal of Ralph Crosse, Purser on the *Hoseander*
IOR L/MAR/A/XIV

Voyage in search of a North-West Passage (1606-1607) under Capt. John Knight in the *Hopewell*

- pp. 281-294 Journal of John Knight.
IOR L/MAR/A/II

I provided a short study of the journals as a body of material in Chapter 2, and noted the fact that their aggregation under the same label and in the series is largely a retrospective imposition: the term includes navigational notes and tables, sketches, draft rutters and sailing directions, full daily journals of trade and diplomatic affairs, and notebooks. Comparison of what these documents contain and how they were edited for inclusion in the Hakluyt Society volume casts light on two separate informational cultures, with much in common but much to distinguish between them as well; different methods of approaching space, time and navigation, different ways of combining data, and different ways of interpreting what is recorded.

Thomas Love's journal is the most texturally rich and intriguing document abstracted by Markham for his volume, and inevitably shows up the inadequacy and idiosyncrasy of his editorial practice when attempting to condense material. Markham, of course, does not pretend to be making any particularly useful representations of the materials at hand, and in making his "abstractions" (the word used in the Introduction) he appears to have two main purposes: firstly, to give a narrative précis of the journal's contents; and secondly, to reproduce in transcription any sections that he deems to be

of interest. The first function works partly in the mode of a catalogue description, in which other historians can find the materials they need, and partly in the mode of narrative history, with a certain subnarrative to the grand historical arc being extracted for incorporation into the whole. The second is largely a reflection of either Markham's own interests or of what he seems to believe will pique the interest of historians or general readers. Often this involves exotic alterity or violence, although violence is usually only related in the context of encounters with national or soon-to-be-colonial others. The process of gathering these snippets is made gratifyingly visible to the modern researcher by Markham's habit of annotating the manuscripts he was working with. Ralph/Rafe Crosse relates in his journal a visit to the King of Aceh, and his account provides many of the more lurid moments in Markham's *Lancaster*. (See Appendix A, pp. 320-321.) Markham transcribes most of the episodes faithfully – the murder of an old man for refusing the King's employment in favour of the English, the trial of one Nathaniel Fenn for drawing his sword on Sir Henry Middleton and the unexpected good luck of his being rescued from the death penalty by the outlandish pity of the Siamese Ambassador, the staged fight between an elephant and tiger, a courtier having his eyes put out for having looked at a favourite concubine, another "for wearing a turbans extraordinarie, [having] a peece of his skull cut awaie"[98] – but his methods of annotating the manuscript vary even within the space of a few lines. The less exotic incidents are afforded marginal notes: "Ship | Globe received | of Cap^{t} Hippon"; "K. Letter | for Priaman":[99]

[98] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 252.
[99] IOR L/MAR/A/XVI fol. 21^{r}

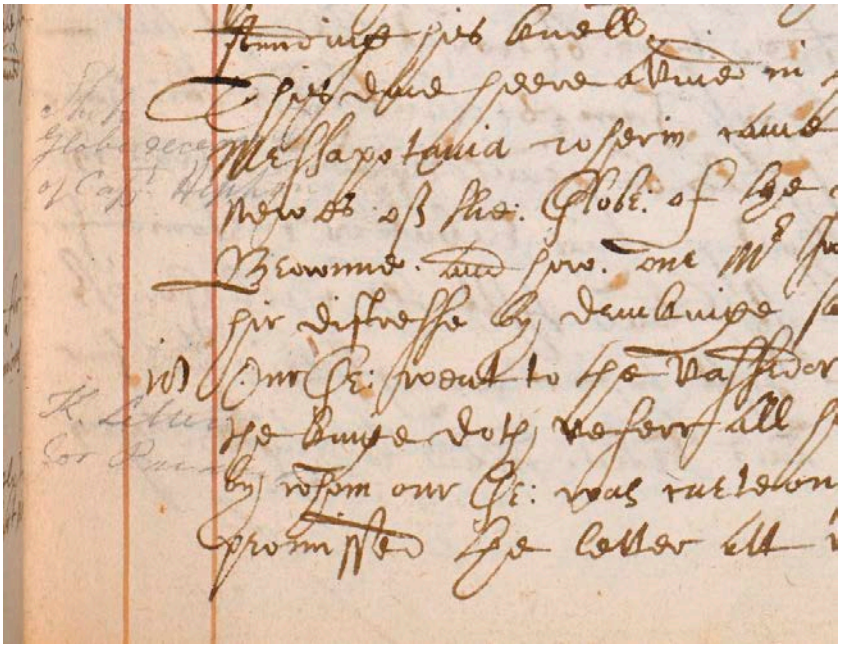


Fig. 10 IOR L/MAR/XVI, fol. 21[r]

The more bizarre and violent occurrences – the eyes and the skull, the elephant and tiger fights – are highlighted with Markham's distinctive manicule:

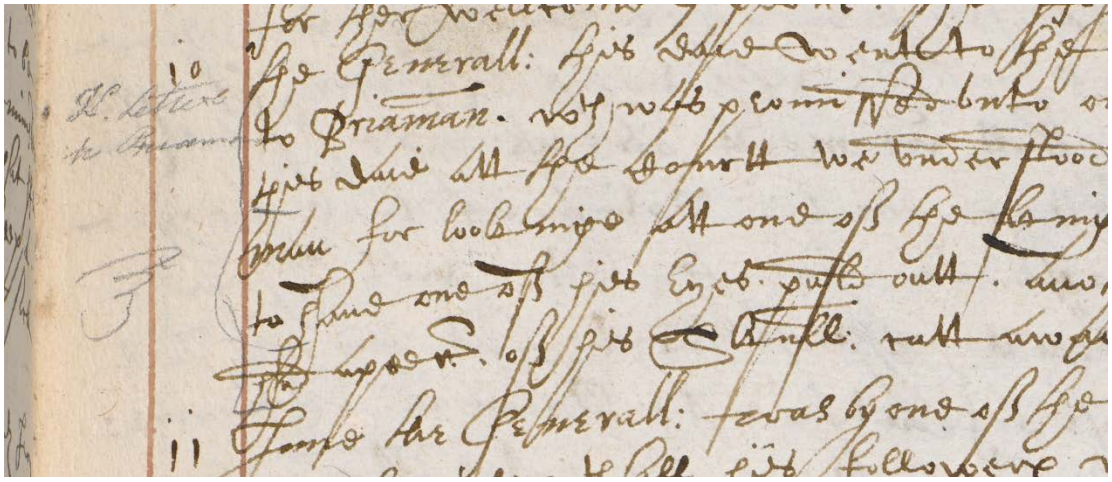


Fig. 11 IOR L/MAR/XVI fol. 21[r] (detail)

At the same time, the sensibilities of Markham's cultural context admit the unspeakable as entertainment only when contained within the exotic: the sodomy trial discussed Sharpeigh's and Jourdain's journals is, of course, passed over.

It is, however, hard to fault Markham for making an efficient and titillating advertisement for the materials he had recovered. The Hakluyt Society depended on its subscribers, who, despite the increasing professionalization of scholarship over the first fifty years of the Society's lifetime, generally covered a whole spectrum of intellectual sophistication from *eminences grises* like Sir Roderick Murchison to retired India hands, old naval top brass, and gentlemen of private means with a yen for scholarship. However one chooses to read Markham's annotations – the efficient marginalia for the incidents he found his language adequate to and the maniculae for those he did not – and however much his selection of incidents reflected his own appetites and susceptibilities, he can hardly be faulted for making the most memorable impression he could of what he had found and catalogued. In fact the abstracts he devotes almost two-thirds of the volume to are essentially just that: advertisements for the Marine Records series (now shelfmarked IOR L/MAR) that he had essentially created in his time at the Geographical Department. The volume's greatest achievement is tucked away near the index: a fourteen-page calendar of all the ships' journals (or documents so called) so far discovered in the India Office dating from the seventeenth century. The documents from this list abstracted in the volume are numbered 1 – 8, and the last year they cover is 1613: the whole catalogue is numbered up to 115, and ends in 1701.[100] Although we cannot recreate the circumstances under which they were

[100] Danvers' catalogue of 1896 subtracts some items from Markham's catalogue (such as the instructions to Laurence Femell, which as previously noted were moved to the 'Marine Miscellaneous' series), and

stored prior to and immediately following the double move from Leadenhall Street to the Victoria Palace Hotel and thence to Whitehall, and therefore cannot fully reconstruct what Markham found and how he dealt with it except through his own words, no extant catalogues of this material have survived. Assembling all this material into bound, numbered volumes according to date, and cataloguing it, was only a minor part of the immense effort that that was undertaken within the Geographical Department during Markham's involvement. The catalogue is followed by a list of all the ships involved in the seventeenth-century voyages, cross-referenced against the foregoing catalogue and, where appropriate, the abstracts in the main body of the volume and appearances in Purchas:[101] the field of historiographical sources is not only brought within the known archive, classified and ordered, but subjected to the multiple axes of cross-referencing, made retrievable and combinable. On a prosaic scale, this is surely an application of what Markham articulated in his project of an imperial archive.

As for navigational information, the only effort Markham makes to integrate the contents of the journals into the nineteenth-century body of knowledge is to speculate, as in the case of the "Isle of Cardu" on the modern positions referred to. Nothing in the printed volume suggests any traffic the other way, in the form of contribution to the modern archive of hydrographical knowledge mined from the older

---

renumbered the volumes: with new accessions and subtractions, No. 115 in Markham's catalogue corresponds to CXXVI in Danvers', and the series has not been modified since. Although the gap between the first and final catalogue is only 16 years (taking the publication of Markham's *Voyages of James Lancaster* as the date of his catalogue), the relatively low variation between the two is impressive. (Danvers' catalogue, incidentally, abandons the Roman numerals in 1705 in favour of a slightly confused system of Arabic numbers and initials. Anthony Farrington's supplement to the catalogue (1996) says of Danvers' system that it "defies logical analysis".)

[101] Farrington's catalogue of 1996 replicates this move, presenting the entirety of the Marine Records (not just series 'A: Ships' Logs and Journals', which is essentially unchanged since Danver's catalogue) by reference to an alphabetical list of ships. It is immensely unwieldy, and one wonders what kinds of historiography would view as ideal the privileging of ships' names as primary points of reference.

material. There is, however, one manuscript intervention in IOR L/MAR/A/V, the journal of Finch and Herne. The entry for March 20th, 1611 reads:

> beeing Sonday ffell much rayne having a ffresh gale at so.so.w. wee steering no. and no.b.e. and in the afternoone wee steered no.b.w. in w*th* the mayne the better to shunn a dangerous rock ^caled Cpomunay^ w*ch* lyeth in *the* lattd. of .12d.10' distant aboute 13 [leagues ffrom the mayne : and keepinge a good watch till midnight at w*ch* tyme wee observed and ffound the shipp to the northward of it o*ur* m*r* willed them to steer no.b.e. againe-

Next to this there is a single nineteenth century marginalium, the only such intervention in the document:

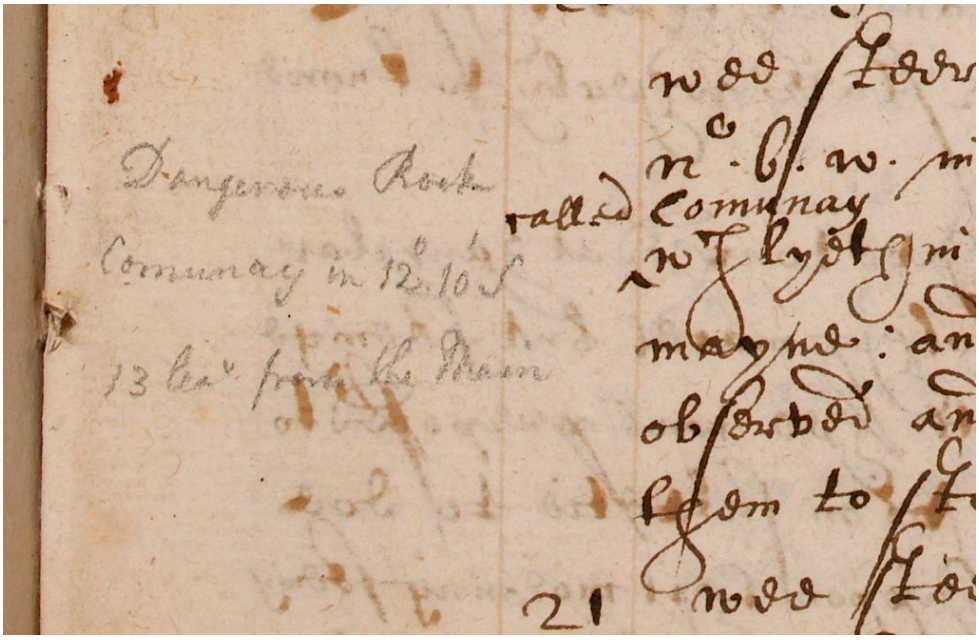


Fig. 12 IOR L/MAR/A/V fol. 23r

> Dangerous Rock
> Comunay in 12°10'S
> 13 lea from the Main

This is a tantalising note, because it is impossible to pin down to Clements Markham. It may just as well have been Alexander Dalrymple, during the period when he was himself studying the early records for navigational information. Andrew Cook notes that Dalrymple had proposed to do so in 1779, and that the Company had accepted his offer, although nothing substantial appears to have come of it. A motivating factor was the loss of the *Colebrooke* in False Bay, Cape of Good Hope, in 1778: Dalrymple had argued that the rock on which it had struck had been noted as early as 1745.[102] In this context, any evidence of a dangerous rock on the Cape Route must have been welcome, however tenuous. If it is indeed Dalrymple who left this marginalium, it at least provides a potent sign that Markham's claims to continuity, to unity of purpose across time, are not entirely idle.

Only the final journal, John Knight's, is transcribed in full. (See Appendix A, pp. 322-323.) Markham reproduces the title page, replicates orthography and marginalia efficiently, and conscientiously annotates lacunae, illegible words, and navigational notes. This is enabled to an extent by the unchallenging nature of the source material: Knight's journal is tidily arranged, only minimally tabulated, and contains no graphical content more challenging to a nineteenth-century typesetter than the astronomical symbol for the sun. The majority of Markham's footnotes, however, are devoted to noting divergences with the text of the same expedition included in Purchas, with the consistent aim of highlighting the latter's inadequacy. There is policy in this, since, as his Introduction indicates, the document is Markham's trump card:

> The present volume concludes with a document relating to a very different part of the world, which was, however, very closely connected with the early history

[102] Andrew Cook, 'Establishing the Sea Routes to India and China', p. 129.

> of the East India Company. This is the journal of the voyage of John Knight to seek the North-West Passage in 1606. The original manuscript was found in the India Office amongst a heap of waste paper, and was thus rescued from destruction. It is marked No. 19 of some lost series, which probably included other priceless Arctic journals. It was once in the hands of Purchas, for he gives extracts from it occupying 4 ½ pages; and a collation of the original manuscript with his version, affords a good example of the way the Rev. Samuel dealt with his materials.[103]
>
> …Arctic exploration is important and useful, and the enterprises connected with it form such noble and heart-stirring episodes in our history, that every fragment relating to them should be looked upon with veneration. This old manuscript record has, therefore, been printed as a contribution towards the more complete history of English Arctic adventure. It fitly concludes a volume containing narratives of East Indian voyages, because, in its earliest and best days, much precious Arctic work was undertaken by the English East India Company.[104]

The narrative of archival recovery in the face of wholesale destruction and wastage is a familiar trope in the writings of the archivists who created the IOR (see earlier chapter on Birdwood and the Factory Records series). That the trope was to some extent consciously deployed is evident in the line from the Hakluyt Society's foundational charter: "The publication of Hakluyt's collection may be ranked among the many characteristic distinctions of the age of Elizabeth. That writer had it in view, as he informs us, "for the benefit and honour of his country, to bring Antiquities, smothered and buried in dark silence, to light; and to preserve several memorable exploits by the English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion.".[105] There is a claim to emulation here that is also a claim to continuity and even perhaps, more remotely, to complicity. The continuity that Markham invokes in his dedication to A. Dundas Taylor is an obsession with the archivists of the late

[103] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. xvii-xviii.
[104] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, pp. xxi-xxii.
[105] Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley', p. 65.

nineteenth century: the notion that there is a grand narrative arc of imperial dominance which invisibly links the Elizabethan colonialists, traders and explorers to the administrators of the late Victorian British Empire. In their efforts to innovate technologies of knowledge which would both enable and legitimate dominance – technologies which were appropriative, totalizing and synoptic, activated by fantasies of panoptical surveillance – the keepers of the imperial archive found that they possessed means of appropriating, defining and policing the materials of the history being appropriated. Like all acts of colonial appropriation, however, the encounter was not without resistance – the materials of seventeenth-century geography were not always, or not fully, appropriate to the emergent discourses and practices of nineteenth-century geography. The territory could be claimed and mapped, triangulated into the grid of imperial knowledge, but it could never fully assimilated into the empire: there would remain always a margin of incomprehension, where the claim to complicity fails.

Conclusion: Brigadier Dyer's moustache

In *Midnight's Children*, Salman Rushdie's narrator Saleem Sinai recounts gazing at a picture on his nursery wall:

> The fisherman's pointing finger: unforgettable focal point of the picture which hung on a sky-blue wall in Buckingham Villa, directly above the sky-blue crib in which, as Baby Saleem, midnight's child, I spent my earliest days. The young Raleigh – and who else? – sat, framed in teak, at the feet of an old, gnarled, net-mending sailor – did he have a walrus moustache? – whose right arm, fully extended, stretched out towards a watery horizon, while his liquid tales rippled around the fascinated ears of Raleigh – and who else? Because there was certainly another boy in the picture, sitting cross-legged in frilly collar and button-down tunic ... and now a memory comes back to me: of a birthday party in which a proud mother and an equally proud ayah dressed a child with a gargantuan nose in just such a collar, just such a tunic. A tailor sat in a sky-blue room, beneath the pointing finger, and copied the attire of the English milords ...
>
> "Look, how *chweet*!" Lila Sabarmati exclaimed to my eternal mortification, "It's like he's just stepped out of the *picture*!"
>
> [...] the finger pointed even further than that shimmering horizon, it pointed beyond teak frame, across a brief expanse of sky-blue wall, driving my eyes towards another frame, in which my inescapable destiny hung, forever fixed under glass: here was a jumbo-sized baby-snap with its prophetic captions, and here, beside it, a letter on high-quality vellum, embossed with the seal of state [...]...if one followed it even further, it led one out the window, down the two-storey hillock, across Warden Road, beyond Breach Candy Pools, and out to another sea which was not the sea in the picture…[1]

This episode might be approached, to begin with, as an astringent interrogation of the persistence of the tropes of Victorian reverential historiography in a nominally decolonized world. The painting, which Rushdie does not explicitly identify, is John Everett Millais' *The Boyhood of Raleigh* (1870). Millais was inspired by J. A. Froude's essay 'England's Forgotten Worthies', itself a review of the Hakluyt Society's first three publications, and it is a powerful and popular

[1] Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981; repr. London: Vintage, 1995), pp. 122-123.

document of Victorian sentiment, the cult of boyhood, and the fabrication of a myth of imperial origin from the narratives of early modern conquest, trade, and exploration.[2] The persistence of the trope it inaugurates can be gauged with reference to William Foster's fabrication, in his 1905 *Journal of John Jourdain*, of an appropriate boyhood for his subject:

> No doubt with other Lyme Regis boys he played about the Cobb or in the narrow streets that cluster round the rushing Lyme [...] one fancies that he was often on the quay, watching the ships as they entered or quitted the harbour—for Lyme was then a port of considerable trade—and questioning the sailors about the mysterious world below the horizon.[3]

As I note in my introduction, this succession – as its weak "no doubt" indicates – is based on precisely no evidence at all.

Arguably, Millais' painting speaks to the same desire for inceptional moments that I identify throughout this thesis: just as with Birdwood's "CHARTER OF ELIZABETH" and 1698 roll of subscribers, and just as with Clements Markham's recruitment of Hakluyt as the first imperial geographer, the history of empire must begin with a moment of commencement and commandment which gives form and meaning to everything that follows.[4] If Millais' painting appears in *Midnight's Children* as a sentimental representation of an inceptional moment, it is one into which Saleem's parents compulsively attempt to insert him as Raleigh's nameless companion, by having him play a game of dress-up which he experiences only as a farcical and emasculating humiliation. However, even should this gambit

---

[2] Tony Campbell, 'R. H. Major and the British Museum', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth*, ed. by Bridges and Hair, pp (p. 96); J. A. Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *Westminster Review*, July-Oct. 1852, pp. 32-67; Mary C. Fuller,. *Voyages in Print: English Narratives of Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge Unversity Press, 1995), p. 158; Neil Ten Courtenaar, 'Postcolonial Ekphrasis: Salman Rushdie gives the Finger Back to the Empire' *Contemporary Literature*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1997) 232-259 (p. 249).

[3] William Foster, ed., *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617*. (Cambridge: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1905), pp. xiv-xv

[4] Birdwood and Foster, *Relics of the Honourable East India Company*, p. 1.

work, and Saleem somehow become inscribed in the picture of empire's birth as a ghostly prefiguration of the postcolonial state, he is already accompanied there – beaten to it, in fact – by a trace of the real history of colonialism. In Saleem's extensive symbolic library, the "walrus moustache" is the sign of Brigadier Reginald Dyer, the commanding officer of the Amritsar massacre, and stands metonymically for the experience of colonialism as trauma, as nothing but grotesque violence and compulsive acquisition backed up by an insouciant conviction of superiority.[5]

This episode is also, however, a provocative parable about objects and texts, their settings, and their relations to their contexts and to each other. The painting is placed in series with similarly inceptional moments: the baby snap and the signed letter from Nehru are relics of Saleem's birth and the simultaneous birth of the Indian state of which, in Rushdie's playfully overdetermined allegory, he is the conflicted embodiment. Like the records in George Birdwood's muniment, all these objects are placed in their "distinct ranges of cases", placed in a juxtaposition which, as the innocent narrator intuits, insinuates a particular narrative: the commanding finger of the sailor with Dyer's moustache insists upon a sequential historical logic from which these originary moments are supposed to draw an order, a coherence, and a teleology. Beyond the postcolonial present inaugurated by the letter from Nehru, however, the finger points to the domestic details of Saleem's childhood: a bourgeois estate, a swimming pool that is still racially segregated, and a sea which does not resemble the one in the picture: there is a sense of bathos in the failure of this sequence, assumed by the young Saleem to be an intentional one, to bear any meaningful fruit. The contending *mythoi* of colonial and postcolonial

[5] Rushdie, pp. 41-42; p. 647.

historiographies, the specificity of lived experience in a present marred by the replication of colonial forms of injustice, and the unknowable future all combine in a comedy of disjunction whose real punchline is the failure of historiographical regimes of order.

In studying one strand in the creation of the tradition of which Millais' painting is an expression, I have attempted in this thesis to interrogate just such a regime. I have drawn attention to its relentless search for origin events, and attempts to relate those origin events to the present through asserting continuities of ideology, identity, practice, and disciplinarity. I have studied some of its practices of arrangement and taxonomy, and how its cataloguing and curation of the archives of the early EIC reflected the imperial politics and geographies of its time. I have given an impression of the paratextual, descriptive and editorial interventions by which late nineteenth century actors asserted their mastery of those materials at and attempted to enforce their interpretations of what they meant, how they should be read, and why they mattered. Finally, I have given some account of how the practices of the imperial archive, more broadly conceived, attempted to conscript some of the records into its own attempts at asserting a comprehensive knowledge of the world which could be used as an instrument of power.

By studying in detail some of the specific and situated processes by which these practices were developed and applied, I have tried to show how this narrative's capture and colonization of the early modern past – which seems so total and triumphant in the episode from *Midnight's Children* – was in fact partial, conflicted, and often frustrated. Closer study of the formation of the IOR reveals that discussions between small groups of elite men at the heart of the empire regarding the disposition of formerly disregarded archives could, in a period of change and

anxiety, expose conflicts regarding the very substance of the imperial project, its techniques, objectives and ethics. The personal involvement of the men who administered the empire in the writing of its histories made the shape of those histories as much a matter of personal predilliction and social relationality as of institutional, political or ideological commitment. History, and the archives that made it, became sites for the production of ideology, identity, and affect; and in the process, they also became sites of contestation, collaboration, and compromise. Study of the ways in which archives are formed helps us to understand them, in Antoinette Burton's phrase, as "hybrids rather than hegemons".[6] While Burton may be referring to a rather more inclusive hybridity than is evident here – where the only plurality available is a plurality of white men, engaged in the business of managing the empire, within the office from which the entirety of Britain's Indian possessions were officially run – the point still stands: the shapers of the archive fight amongst themselves whilst they shape it, the archive itself resists their efforts, and the imagined regimes of perfect order and effective sequentiality elude them.

I have also tried, perhaps unsuccessfully, to draw the materials of the early EIC themselves into a dialogue with the processes by which imperial culture attempted to assimilate and mobilize them, and to give them some opportunity of speaking back to the arguments made on their behalf. This pitches my study into the basic epistemological problem outlined in my introduction, which is perhaps the major caveat and central problem of my thesis: a historian of the twenty-first century has no more claim to a fuller, more comprehensive or more penetrating understanding of these materials, and the cultural logistics they embody, than the

[6] Burton, 'Archive Stories: Gender in the Making of Imperial and Colonial Histories', in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine, pp. 281-295 (p. 282).

scholars and archival functionaries of the nineteenth. In attempting to assert, on behalf of the seventeenth-century records, a resistance (however tentative and partial) to the ways in which the nineteenth century used them to ventriloquise its own aspirations, I run the risk of simply engaging in ventriloquy of my own. I note in my introduction the hope that, while each document may be properly read as a palimpsest of the archival interventions it has undergone, and while there is no hope of recovering any 'original' document beneath the accretive layers of those interventions or outside of the archival structures within which it is contained, documents may still, in some cases, retain a certain force from that lost original form which remains stronger than the suppressions the archive imposes. Without this hope, it would be impossible to write histories from archival documents. At the same time, no history written from archival documents can avoid being also a history of the archive itself, and nor should it attempt to. I hope that in illuminating the complex and often violent interplay between the contents of archives and the cultural and institutional contexts within which they are made, this study has contributed to the shift in attention towards the archive as a mediating presence in the writing of early modern and imperial histories.

I am also aware that, in attempting to follow this interplay, my research has often been brought up short at the difficulty of identifying the specific points at which pressure is applied one way or the other. The tradition itself is necessarily broadly defined and nebulous, always contested, always unstable, and often closer to an emergent structure of feeling than a definable discourse or narrative: attempting to prove precisely how it relates to the complex processes of archival reorganisation presents challenges to argument and plausibility. One can read an individual's public opinions about the history whose materials he was handling, and

one can identify features of his archival and antiquarian practice which appear to support those convictions, but factors of process and contingency often intervene before a line of direct causality can be drawn. At the same time, focusing too closely upon specific points at which individuals exerted force upon the archive can bring one within the shadow of the biographical fallacy discussed in Chapter 1, where a privileged narrative of an individual's movement through structures of power effaces the agency of those structures in determining his course. The old records of the IOR, like most historical archives, are the creation of an institution, its structures, cultures and practices of documentary curation and information management. Where I have focused upon George Birdwood, William Foster, F. C. Danvers and Clements Markham, I have attempted to make it clear how their interaction with the archive, and the effects they had upon it, were always mediated, policed, and to a large extent determined by institutional structures.

The final question, and the one which is implicitly posed by the arrangement of objects in Saleem Sinai's nursery, is whether the efforts of the Victorian archivists and historiographers were successful, whether the early modern past was indeed efficiently colonised, neutralised, and made safe for imperialism; and, if that is in fact the case, what kinds of damage that occupation might continue to do in the postcolonial present. The answer *Midnight's Children* gives is, as far as it goes, a pessimistic one; the novel seems unwilling to allow that the nineteenth century was anything but triumphant in its annexation of the past. Where the early modern appears it is always already subsumed within the Victorian, reproduced as spurious genealogy or sinister kitsch. Saleem's birth father, William Methwold, claims descent from his namesake (1590-1653), the Company officer who first advocated the acquisition of Bombay, but there is nothing of the early modern about him: he

is, rather, the parodic model of an English *sahib*.[7] The suit in which Saleem is dressed is not an Elizabethan costume but a faint simulacrum, doubly mediated through sentimental nineteenth-century art and an Indian tailor dumbly copying that art to satisfy the whims of an ascendant post-colonial bourgeoisie. The painting itself is a fiction marked by the shadow of Dyer. The early modern is evacuated of its content and filled with that of a later colonial culture in whose discursive armoury it becomes merely one of many weapons.

If anything, this episode suggests that the nineteenth-century empire's annexations of history were more successful, and more enduring, than its territorial acquisitions, and that they continue to exercise a repressive force upon articulations of post-colonial national and individual subjectivities. Dyer's moustache on the sailor's face is both an acid reminder of the violence inherent in the colonial project from its beginning, and an indication of the hopelessness of attempts to recuperate that past for other means, either by playing dress-up or by writing new histories: all the materials available, as far back as they go, and including Saleem's own childhood, are infected with the same violence. To paraphrase Ranajit Guha, these are the prehistorical plots, not vacant but if anything overpeopled, on which the post-colonial state must build its history.[8] The impossibility of doing so may be one of the insuperable contradictions under which, by the end of the novel's timeframe, Saleem believes himself to be literally cracking apart.

However, at the very end, as Saleem imagines his enemies and his dead all crowding in to crush him, there is a note of weary surprise: "Dyer seems not to be present".[9] If this simply means that, in being superseded by newer histories of

[7] Rushdie, pp. 124-129, p. 147.
[8] Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World-History*, pp. 44-45.
[9] Rushdie, p. 647

trauma and oppression, the mythology of empire has simply ceased to matter, then it is small comfort.

APPENDIX A

East India Company documents, 1608-1615: transcriptions and images

Editorial notes and transcription policy

Transcription conventions here are semi-diplomatic. I have silently regularized long *s*, i/j and u/v for ease of reading. Superscript has been brought down for the most part and indicated by italics: the same obtains for elisions. Exceptions are "wth" and "w^{ch}" which appear as "w*i*th" and "w*hi*ch". Where superscript letters are illegible or indistinguishable from tildes, I expand with italics.

IOR L/MAR/A/V, fol. 23^{r}: Journal of Finch and Herne

m~ch

Land w*hi*ch wee sawe uppon this cost the 9*th* heerof then wee
steered n*o*.e. makinge accompt to stemm the Corrent -
17 wee steered n*o*.e.b.n*o*· the wind beeinge att S^{o}.S^{o}.w. this day
att noone o*ur* latt*d* was 14d. 48 this morninge wee sawe the land agane
beeinge aboute 8 leagues of rysinge in this fforme ffollowinge

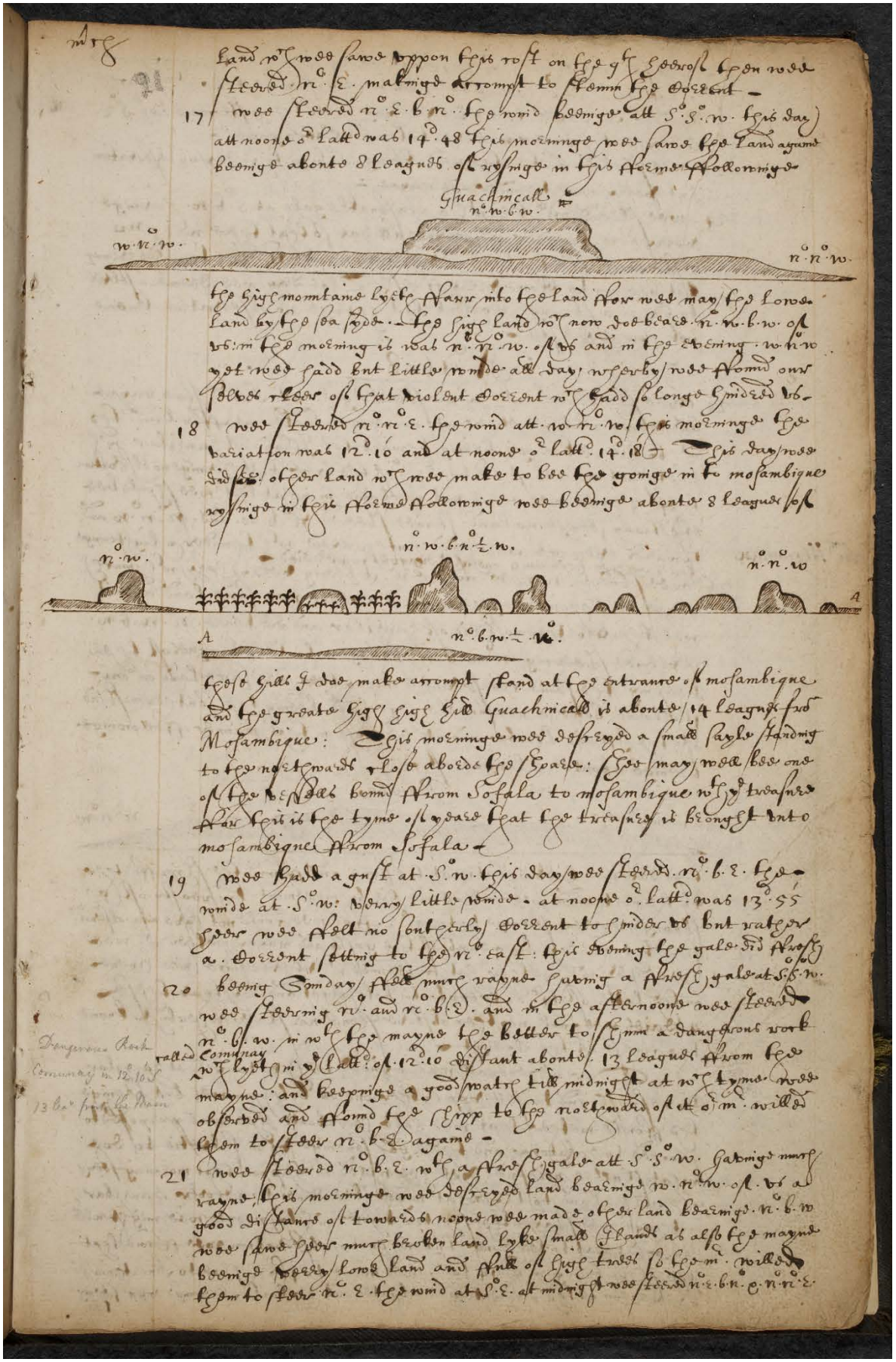
[coastline profile drawing]

the high mountaine lyeth ffarr into the land ffor wee may the lowe
land by the sea syde.- the high land w*hi*ch now doe beare . n*o*.w.b.w of
us in the morning is was n*o*. n*o*.w. of us and in the evening .w. n*o*.w
yet wee hadd but little winde all day wherby wee ffound our
selves cleer of that violent Corrent w*hi*ch hadd so longe hindred us.
18 wee steered n*o*. n*o*.e. the wind att w. n*o*.w. this morninge the
variation was 12d.10' and at noone o*ur* lattd. 14d.18'- This day wee
did see other land w*hi*ch wee make to bee the goinge into mosambique
rysinge in ths fforme ffollowinge wee beeinge aboute 8 leagues of

[coastline profile drawing]

these hills I doe make accompt stand at the entrance of mosambique and the greate high
hill Guachincall is about 14 leagues fro*m*
Mosambique: This morninge wee descreyed a small sayle standing
to the northwards close aborde the shoare: shee may well bee one
of the vessells bownd ffrom Sofala to mosambique w*th the* treasnes
ffar this is the tyme of yeare that the treassnes is brought unto
mosambique ffrom Sofala-
19 wee hadd a gust at So.w. this daye wee steered . n*o*.b.e. the
winde at .so.w. verry little winde at n*o* one o*ur* lattd. was 13d. 55'
heer wee ffelt n*o* southerly Current to hinder us but rather
a Current setting to the n*o*. east: this evening the gale did ffresh
20 beeing Sonday ffell much rayne having a ffresh gale at so.so.w.
wee steering n*o*. and n*o*.b.e. and in the afternoone wee steered
n*o*.b.w. in w*th* the mayne the better to shunn a dangerous rock
Dangerous Rock Comunay in 12º10'S 13 lea from the Main
^caled Comunay^ w*hi*ch lyeth in *the* lattd. of .12d.10' distant aboute 13 leagues ffrom
the
mayne : and keepinge a good watch till midnight at w*hi*ch tyme wee
observed and ffound the shipp to the northward of it o*ur* m*r* willed
21 them to steer n*o*.b.e. againe-
wee steered n*o*.b.e. w*th* a ffresh gale att so.so.w. havinge much
rayne; this morninge wee descreyed land bearinge w. n*o*.w. of us a
good distance of towards noone wee made other land bearinge . n*o*.b.w
wee sawe heer much broken land lyke small Ilands as also the mayne
beeinge verry lowe land and ffull of high trees so the m*r*. willed
them to steer n*o*.e. the wind at s.e. at midnight wee steered n*o*.e.b.n. & . n*o*. n*o*.e.

Fig. 13: IOR L/MAR/A/V, fol. 23[r], full page view.



IOR L/MAR/A/XIV, fol. 21^{r}: Journal of Rafe Crosse

June: 9th: Anno 1613

9. The Guzuratte wentt abord this daie to see the Dragon she gave them for ther wellcome 7 peec*es.* the Hossiander shott 3 peec*es* - - -

10. the Gnerall: this daie went to the courtt to move the kinge for his lett*ers:* to Priaman. w*hi*ch was *per*mitted unto our Generall: over adaie towe o three.
K. letters to Priaman

this daie att the Courtt we under stood how that about 3 or 4 daies past a noble man for lookinge att one of the kinges Concubynes was Iudged by the kinge to have one of his eyes put outt . another . for wearinge a Turband extraordinary had apeece of his Skull cutt awaie -

11 June the Generall: was by one of the capt: of the Guzurattes invitted to dynner by whom he w*th* all his followe*res* was verie Curtteouslie entertyned he was of Dabull:

12 Our Generall: kept housse

13 Itt pleased god of his Mercie to call awaie Raph Standish M*r* Surgion beinge in *per*fectt Memorie did dispose of his good*es* by the maikinge of awill as *per* the Temic apereth. by witness*es* ffortie Rud*es* and Rychard Layne Su*per*visor*es*.

14 The Gnerall: wentt to the Courtt w*th* the chiefe where he *pre*sented the kinge
Visit to court

w*th* 4 murderer*es* 4 Tergett*es* 6 Launc*es* w*hi*ch the kinge Receued in great curttesy and tould the Ge: he would prepair a present for the kinge of England whom he called his brother. and that he would send yt by him. our Ge: Retourned Many thank*es* to his Maiestie in our kinges behalfe - att our comeigne awaie from the Courtt w*th*out the Gaitt we see A man lyinge slyne and was to be there till the dogges had eatten his flesh for committinge adullterie w*th* another Mans wiffe

15 kept housse

16 Raph Standish his aparell send att the mast his principall good*es* Reserfed till order from the Generall.

17 The Ge: wi*th* our chiefe wentt to the Courtt presented the kinge w*th* an:
Visit to court

English shipp in w*hi*ch shipp he took greatt pleassure and did acceptt of yt and esteeme yt more than a matter of greatter worth the letter was promissed w*th*in adaie or towe and many promisses of honor and Creditt to our Ge: ffor the fame of our Nation

This daie the Captt: of the ffleming*es* deceassed our Ge: att his Return ffrom the Courtt wentt w*th* all his followe*res* to his buriall our ___[trumpets?] soundinge his knell

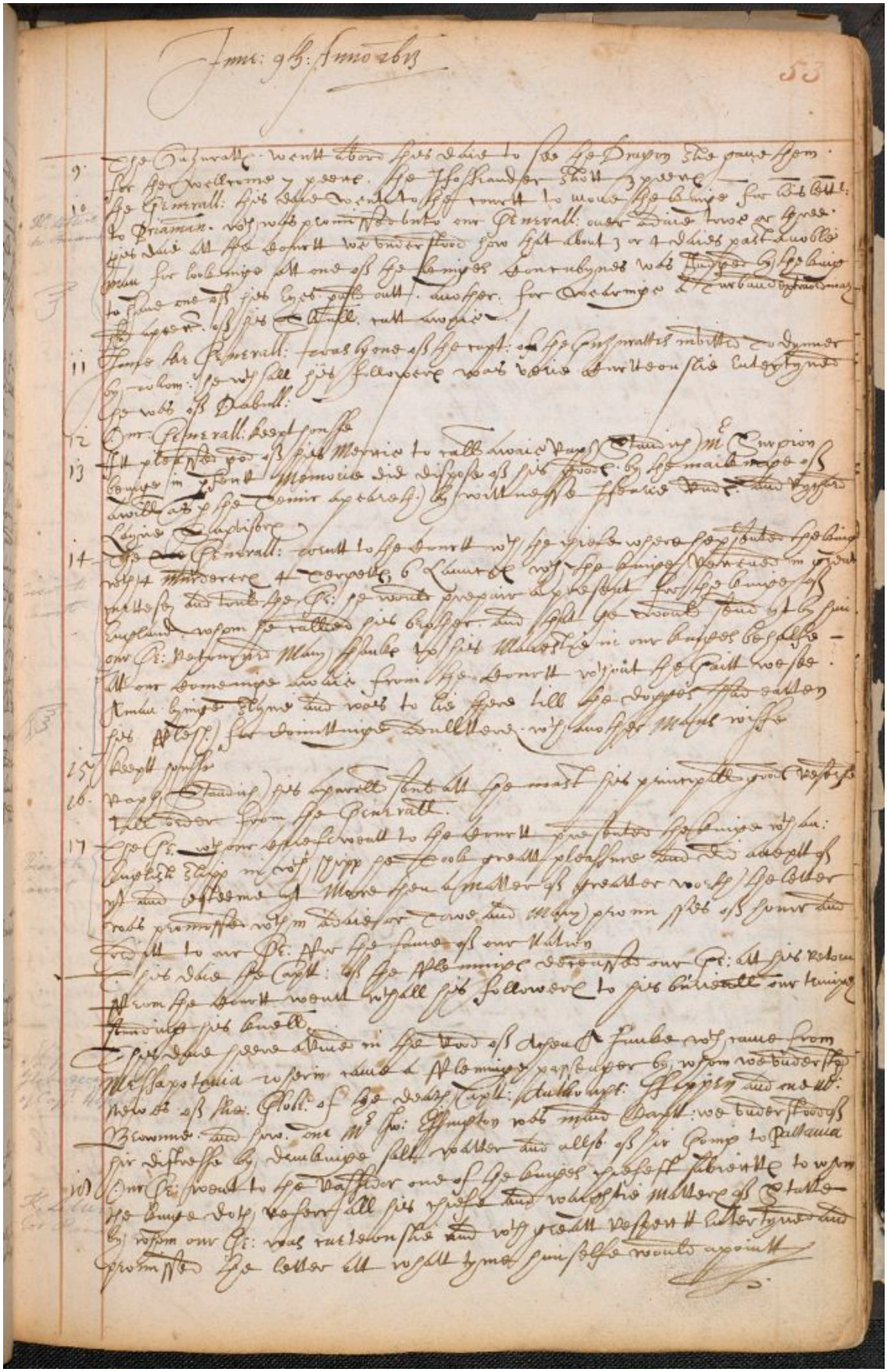
Ship Globe receives of Cap^{t} Hippon

This daie heere arriued in the Road of Achen A Iunke w*hi*ch came from Messapotania wherin came a ffleminge passenger by whom we vnderstod newes of the: Globe: of the death Captt: Anthonye: Hippen and one M*r*: Browne. and how. one M*r* Tho: Effington was maid Captt: we vnderstood of hir distresse by drinking salt watter and allso of hir Going to Pattania

18 Our Ge: went to the Rassedor one of the kinges chiefest subieccte*s* to whom
K. Letter For Priaman

the king doth referr all his chiefe and waightie matter*es* of Statte by whom our Ge: was curteouslie and w*th* greatt Respecctt Entertyned and promissed the letter att whatt tyme himselfe would appoint.

Fig. 14: IOR L/MAR/A/XIV, fol. 21[r], full page view.



IOR/L/MAR/A/II, fol. 4^{r}: Journal of John Knight

Sonday the 22 of June 1606

Sonday the 22nd we road still w*th* fayre wether & the wind nor*t*herly

monday the 23

monday the 23rd in the morninge aboute one aclocke the wind began to blow a freshe gale & then drove a myghty Iland of Ise

They force *th*e shipinto a Cove

thwarte o*ur* halse w*hi*ch we cold no way*es* shunn [but was forced] to let shipp in the halse & w*th* fasts & cables to warpe into a cove & so saved o*ur* shipp, & lyved where we rid very dangerosly all this daye & nyght followinge.

Tewsday the 24.

Tewsday the 24th all the morninge ther blewe a storme northerly & came in suche a sufe of a sea & so muche Ise that o*ur* fasts

They are forced to saue their Clothes furnyture & victuels

broake that wer fast ashore & o*ur* rother was dreven from o*ur* stern w*th* the force of myghty Ilands of Ise soe that we wer forced to sale cloase into the bottom of the cove to save o*ur* clothes fornyture & vicktualls w*hi*ch we did o*ur* best butt before we [had dunn the]

:Ship halfe full of water

stern of Shipp was halfe full of water beinge nyghte & weary we tooke a lyttel rest.

The ship a ground :Stop the Leaks

wednsday the 25th we went hard to worke when the Shipp was a grownd to gett the water owt of the Shipps & topp so many of

wednsday the 25.

o*ur* loads as we culd com bye & to savinge of o*ur* bread so much as we culd, and som to bildinge o*ur* shallop also I caused o*ur*

They build up the shallop

boate to be lanched over the Iland & sent my meat edwards garrett wth 3 others to seke for a better place wher to bringe o*ur* Shipp a grownd yf it wer possible to mend her agayne butt

wood growing on the shore

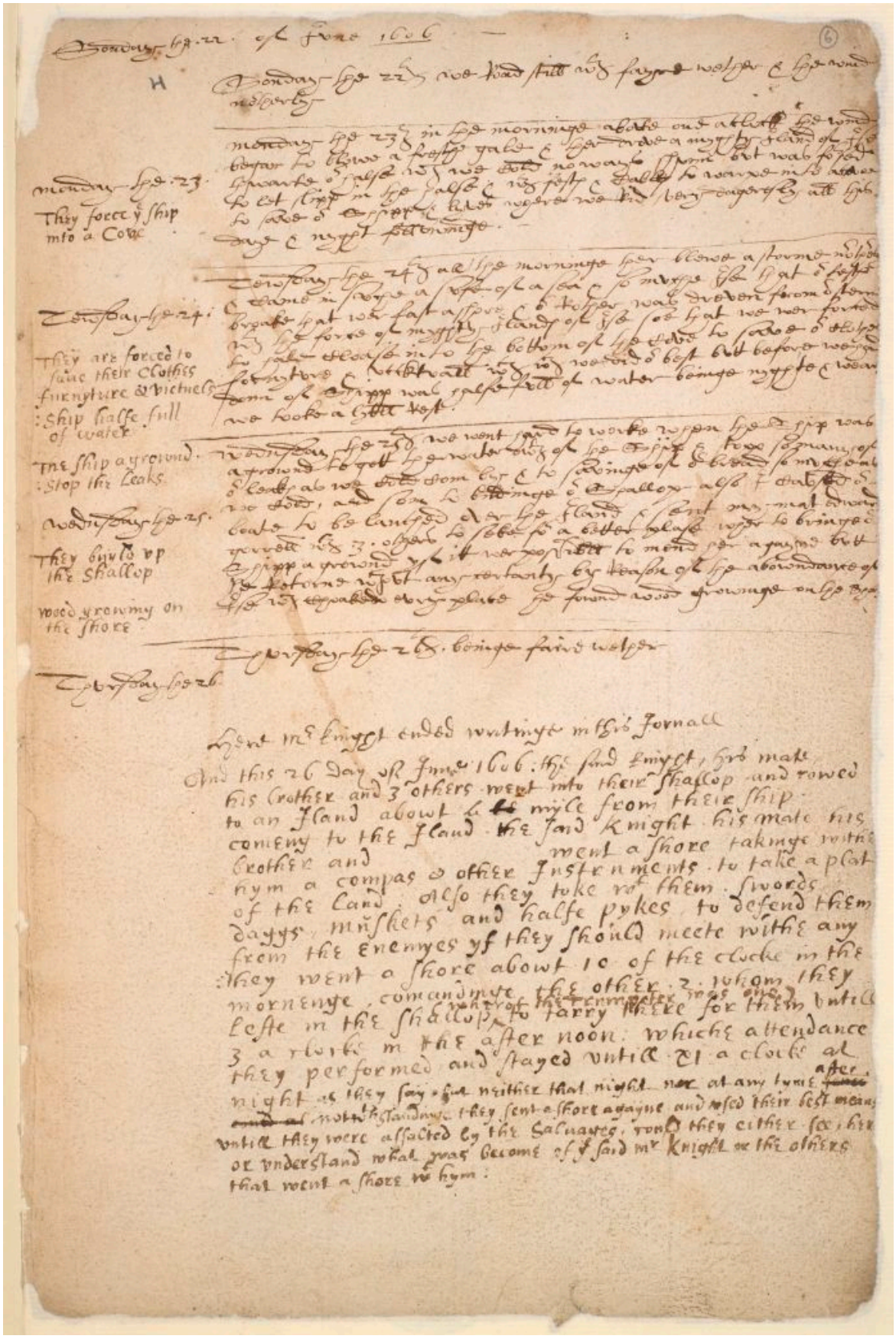
he retorned w*th*out any certainty by Reason of the abondance of Ise w*hi*ch choaked evry place he fownd wood growinge on the shor

Thursday the 26

Thursday the 26th. Thursday the 26th. beinge faire wether

here M*r* Knight ended writinge in this Jornall
And this 26 day of June 1606 : the said Knight, his mate
his brother and 3 others went into their shallop and rowed
to an Iland abowt a myle from their ship.
comeing to the Iland the said Knight his mate his
brother and went a shore takinge with
hym a compas & other Instruments to take a plot
of the land : also they toke w*th* them swords
daggs muskets and halfe pykes to defend them
from the enemyes yf they should meete withe any
they went a shore abot 10 of the clocke in the
mornenge , comandinge the other 2 whom they
lefte in the shallop ^(wherof the trumpeter was one)^ to tarry there for them untill
3 a clocke in the after noon : w*hi*ch e attendance
they performed and stayed untill XI a clocke at
night as they say. but neither that night nor at any time ~~sence~~ after ~~xxx xx~~ notw*th*standinge they sent a shore agayne and used their best means untill they were attacked by the Saluages, could they either see, here or understand what was become of *ye* said m*r* Knight or the others that went a shore w*th* him.

Fig. 15: IOR L/MAR/X/II, fol. 4[r] (whole page view)



IOR E/3/2, fols 201^{r}-203^{v}: John Jourdain to the East India Company, 2 January 1614

Transcription note:

Jourdain's letters, and their complex forms of address, require some deviation from the semi-diplomatic transcription conventions used for the journals. For some words unique to these letters – mercantile terms, honorifics, eccentrics – I have deviated from policy and transcribed them as seen. All variations of "your worship(s)" are represented as closely as possible: similarly, mercantile abbreviations such as "dele:" for "delivered", "Rec:" or variants thereof for "received", "acc˚" or variants thereof for "account", "l˜re" and variants thereof for "letter(s), and so on, have been left intact as far as is practicable.

The size of the original script makes it difficult to render lineation as seen on the word-processed page: lineation is here rendered by vertical strokes. Double strokes indicate paragraphs.

Text in square brackets indicates missing or damaged portions of the manuscript, supplied by *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* [1602-1617], ed. by F. C. Danvers and William Foster, 6 vols (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Company, 1896 – 1902), II, pp. 312-319. These transcriptions are largely inadequate, featuring modernised spellings and making assumptions about terms of address and irregular words that modern scholarship would find unacceptable. Empty or open-ended square brackets indicate places where text cannot be supplied.

Fol. 201^{r}

Bantam the 2nd of Janu[ary] 1614 ---

The Concord arived |our lres receaved | the q*ts* they will effect

Right worp^{ll}: Our duties remembred etc: may it please y*ou* understand that *per* the Concord, who [arrived] | heer the 8th of Sept. Last : we rcd your woo^{ps}: lres: understanding therby at full yo*ur* mindes con[cerning] | all matters: w*hi*ch w*ith* the help of god wee will effect & follow in all points as neere as god shall give us [grace, etc.] | And ffirst

Giles Hawkins dead | m*r* ffloud; & m*r* | Pettie dead also

conse*r*nynge the Concord, shortly after her arrivall it pleased god to take to his mercy G[iles] | Hawkines, and after him, m*r* fflood, and m*r* Petty, w*ith* some others of the com*m*on men; These [chief] | men being dead yt was thought ffittynge to view the Comission, to knowe whome yo*ur* woo˜: had [ordained] | to succeed, and findyng *per* the sayd comission & the two boxes w*hi*ch we openned, that after the [death] | of m*r* fflood,

Th charge of th*e* ship | committed to m*r* Bennit

th*at* none was nomynated, but was to be chosen *per* a general Consent of m*er*chants [at first] | it was thought necessary to leave the charge of the shipp to m*r* Bennett, in the meane time [not] havinge | any other more

The James arive for | Patania bringing | only

sufficient; In this time the James arrived heer from P[ottany] without [ord]er for [her] | Ladinge, only 3000R˚*es* w*hi*ch m*r* Gorney sent in her

3000 Rs toward | his lading

She brought goods for | 13000 R. but would | not make monie to | buy pepper w*ith*all | the Hollanders sould | of the same goods at | 100 per centiles | then the James goodes | were rated att.

The people here will | weare no other sortes | of Clothing but wonted

To lade the ship we | take her goodes rated | as worth ready | money for the joynt | stock & prouide | pepper for her w*ith* | ready money

Whether y*r* pleasure | be that the profit of the | said goodes shalbe for | the joynt stock
5000 sackes of pepper | laden in the James w*hi*ch | is the proceed of the said | goodes

The Amboyners have | kept part of their | Cloves for us: |
& the Bandanezers | make wars w*ith* the | Hollanders expecting | the Inglish

The Concord herupo*n* | by Counsell is sent for Amboyna

[he supposing that money or pepper might be] | had for certayne commodities, left heer in Banta[m rated per him at 3,000 rials of thereabouts; which] | th*at* had bine sold at those rates, had not bine half money enough to [have laden] the [ship] w*ith* pepp[er.] | But we findinge soe little hope of sale, for mony, or pep*per*, to have the sale therof, we offered [the one] halfe | Money wth the Cloth to put yt of, yett could nott be heard, for that the Hollan*ders* sould of the same | sorte of goods, to be payd the next yeer att 100. *per* Cent lesse than the James goods weere Rated att : and to | all sorts of people that would have yt, runynge risqs, whether ever they shalbe payd the one half. [Whether] | they doo it to crisse us in o*ur* t*r*ade of Corramandle or not, I know not, but sure we are th*at* the [losses remains] | on themselves for that they have sold better cheape than it cost them in the Countrey : from w[hence they came.] | Now that w*hi*ch has was left heer *per* m*r* Gorney, thone halfe therof or more is not vendible, in [this country] | because it is, Cheery Malaya ; and the people heer will weare noe other fash[ion] but ther owne [which is] | Chery Java; But now the James being come to Rece her Ladinge, the Cap*t* re[quires us to lade her for] | thac˚ of the same voyadg; we conclude that of necessity the shipp must be laden [but on account of the 9th] | voiadg yt canot be, for that ther is not wherwth to doe yt, Therfore [it] was [thought necessary to value] | the goods belonging to the voyadg, as it is worthe reddie monie, & take it unto [account of the Joint Stock, and to] | lade for soe much pep*per* as the goods doth amount unto: *pro*vided alwaies [that your worships are content thereof at home;] | & whether the goods here remaynynge the *pro*fitt therof shalbe for the acct of [the Joint Stock or for] | the nynth voyage, for that the goods must be Transported to oth[er places, not being vendible in] | Bantam, This ys wholly refferred to your woo^{ps} pleasure : But [in the meantime there is laden] | aboard the James, 6000 sacks of pep*per* w*hi*ch is the *pro*ceede of the goods accord[ing to the valuation and the] | 3000 Rs˚. Receaved from Pottany as *per* the acc˚ in the Jornall may app[ear, etc.] | And since havinge considred further of yo*ur* woo^{ps}: order willinge us to looke farr & neere fo[r other] | comodities & for ventinge of o*ur* owne, w*hi*ch in Bantam will not be sold this 10.yeeres, as [also having] | understood of the weakness of the Concord, both of shipp & men, to carry her for England [and the] | smale quantety of pepper th*at* she will carry and the great hopes we red *per* via de maccassar [and by] | others w*hi*ch lately came from Amboyna, that they have kept great *par*te of their cloves [of the] | last yeere for the English: and the Bandaneses makinge continuall warres w*i*th the | Hollan*ders*, hopinge of the Englishe : all theis thinges havinge bene dewlye considered [by the council] | of m*er*chants it is thought necessary, to send the Concord thither w*i*th divers como[dities which is not] | here vendible, In the charg of George Ball, whoe is [ordained] to be princip[al factor for] | the voyadg, the goodes & mony, w*hi*ch we determyne to send in her, [is as approacheth per invoice.] | The reason why the Concord hath staied here soe longe since her voyadg was determyned to | goe that way is, because we weare in hope to have had some more more men out of the shippes | w*hi*ch are to come out of Englande: and some other shipp to goe in Company, for the more [force]

We have built a | pinace of 25 tonnes | to go w*ith* the Concord

| w*i*th more facilitye the cloves wilbe gotten we have built a pinace of some 25 tonns, of a [junk] | w*hi*ch came from Succandana; w*hi*ch doth goe in comp*any* of the shipp, w*hi*ch wilbe a great helpe to | [fetch] | Cloves where the shipp cannot goe, but we have not men sufficient to man them both, for | havinge *pro*vided the James w*i*th 12 men, and w*i*th those that are dead ther will not remaine | 25 men, for the shipp, & the pinace, Therfore we determyne to gett some, 10 or 12 Blackes [which] | will serve to doe ordinary worke, wee are the more Ernest to send that way ~~because~~ | that if there should not goe some shipp this yeere, there wilbe little hope to doe any [good]

If we should not send | some ship thither | this yere there wilbe | little hope to do good | hereafter

Heerafter

Fol. 201^{v}

heerafter, and this shippe being soe weake above water, that it were great danger to send her for Eng | lande, ffor m*r* petty before his death would not adventure to cary any dry comodities betweene the | deckes, only pep*per* in the hold, Therfore we have laden aboard the James, for thacc$^{\circ}$: of the Joint Stock | 57 Chestes of all sortes of Chyna silkes : 24 Chests of Benjamyn ; 3673 sackes of Bantam pep*per* : 172 ½ | peculls of cloves, as *per* the *par*ticul*ers* , and bills of ladinge; alsoe ther is laden | 100 Bahares of pryaman pep*per*, at 400^{li} pound suttle to the bahar, w*hi*ch was taken out of the Hoziand: | and laden for thacc$^{\circ}$ of the Tenth Voyadg: notwthstanding it is in the billes of ladinge for thacc$^{\circ}$ of | the Joynt Stock, w*hi*ch we did only to avoyd Cavills w*i*th the Cap*t* of the James, he being noe | great amigos w*i*th the Cap*t*: of the Hoziander ; nor any other, heer is left about 30 Chestes silkes | of the worst sorte w*hi*ch the James could not stowe ; we were in hope to have sent theise silkes | in some shipp; belonging to the Joynt Stock; but in regard of the insufficiency of the Concord, and | the longe stay of the fleet, w*hi*ch y^{r} woo^{rs}: writt should come, forth the last springe ; & the daunger | w*hi*ch might insew *per* keepinge them untill the next yeere, made us to lade them in this shipp, w*hi*ch | we did *per* Counsell, [Captain Ma]rloe havinge required the same, and the James being a sufficient | shipp for the purpose, and for that they stood in neede divers necessaries, there is deliverd them | out of the Concord, 12 men w*i*th divers other *pro*vision as *per* the pursers noat may appeere, w*hi*ch | could very ill be spared, but that necessity doth constraine us therunto for the better security | of y^{r} woo^{pes}: goods ; now as consernynge the darlynge she sett saile from heere for succadana, | the 10th of m*ar*che, and from there she was to goe for Pottany there to buy all the Lankeene | silke of the China Juncks carryinge wth them for that purpose a good store of money and | comodityes as per the Journall may appeare; But comynge to Succadana they made their | abode too long, contrary to Order: that before they came to Pottany the Hollande*rs* had | broght upp all the silke before their arryvall; w*hi*ch was the cause that the darlinge tooke in | certaine goods out of the James, & are gone for Syam; ffrom theme I know not what | course they doe [mi]nde to take for hitherto they have in all points digrest from commission | [We] do not do[ubt

100 bahares | of priaman | pepper for the | voiage

M*r* made all | one bill of lading
30 Chest of Silkes | yet remayning | being the worst

[all other marginalia illegible on this leaf]

but] M*r* Gorney, and m*r* Larkyn, doth advize att Large of all theinges in | [this] shipp etc . ||
Now consernynge the Globe, we daylie looke for her, much marvellinge of their longe stay, | doubtinge of the gettinge over the Barr; w*hi*ch is the cause that m*r* fflorys doth alsoe doubt of the | late comynge to Bantam; and therfore hath writt to *pro*vide against his comynge about | 4000 sacks of [pepper, which] we have affected, & is all redye mylled & layd in the warehouses; | And as for the state of the voyadg we reffer yt to mr fflorys l*etter*, w*hi*ch goeth with heerwth etc | And for the *pro*ject of the voyadg now ~~Iut~~ *pre*tended in the Concord, It is agreed *per* a generall | Consell of m*er*chantes . viz. That she by gods grace, goe ffirst for maccasser ther to take acco^{t}: | of Geo: Cockayne, and what Rice is there bought, to take ~~xx~~ yt into their shipp, as alsoe what | shalbe there remainynge, ffittinge for Banda, or the molluccoes, and leave other goods ther | w*hi*ch shalbe found most vendible in maccasser; as alsoe to take into their shipp M*r* Walden | whoe is ther Remaynynge, and a *per*fect linguist in the malaya, and Ternatan tongue, and | well acquaynted wth the country people and Coast; I meane of Amboina, and Banda, and | from therre w*i*thal convenyent speed to *pro*ceede for amboina, or Banda. yf first, at Banda; | then uppon good considearacion, to leave there Sophony Cozucke, & some other w*i*th such a quantety | of goods as shalbe thought necessary, Sophony Cozuck beinge already acquaynted w*i*th the Countrey | people, & language; But [if they] may w*i*th more conveniencye fall first wth Amboyne; then to repaire | to a place called, Lugho; wher the darlinge was the last yeere; and the Cheif, Aurankaya of the | country a freind to the English & Indifferent or rather an Enemy to the Hollande*r*s, who sought | his lyfe because he gave us Entertaynment in the darlynge, but of late he hath made the kinge of | Ternaturs acquainted therw*i*th, & he gath given him leave to Entertayne all nations & especially | the English, for w*hi*ch cause as we are informed; this, Aura*n*caya, caused the country people to | keepe their cloves for us this yeere, and seinge that noe shipps came was constrayned at the | last of yeere to sell the one halfe unto the Hollande*rs*; and the rest they have kept for the English; | ffrom this place of Lugho, is but halfe a dayes journey, by land, to Cambello: La Sede, and Ceran; w*hi*ch | three places yeildeth as many Cloves, as the half of Amboyne, and the people affable & desirous | of Trade wth us, & are in noe subjection to the Hollande*rs*: only tradinge with them as w*i*th all other | m*er*chants, and because the shipp cannot conveniently goe to all theise places, we send this

Pinace,

Fol. 202^{r}

What they have | apointed the | pinace unto |

pinayce to goe from port, to port, to bringe cloves to the shipp w*hi*ch may remayne in Lugho [or] | Cambello, w*hi*ch shalbe thought most convenient and if occasion be she may goe from thence [for] | Banda, to give advise & soe to Retorne to the shipp againe, as alsoe to search out any other [place] | neere ther about wher trade maye be had; The goods w*hi*ch we send to these places is [Guzerat] | & Coramandell Clothing, some money in Rs˚, and some gold,

The goodes sent | to Amboyna. | w*ith* some gould |

Cloves to be had | for Rice & gold | for the rice is their | food & the gould their | treasure

the gold will yeild, 50 *per* Cent | *pro*fitt or more, and Cloves wilbe sooner gotten for Rice, and gold, than for any other Comodi[ty] | whatsoever, because the Rice is their ffoode; The gold their treasure against they dye, [and] | therfore they will give an Extraordinary price for yt etc . ||

All restes of | severall ~~xxx~~ | viages are rated | & brought to the | acc˚ of the joynt | stock according | to the direction | Sheppards acco | unperfect | Gorney taketh | Shepard along | w*ith* him to Pata. | Gurney would rather | leave the viage then | have Cob w*ith* him | Cobs misbehavio*ur* |

And as Consernynge the state of the busines heere in Bantam, accordinge to yo^{r} woo^{rps}: [orders] | ther is notice taken of all such goodes as is heere Remayninge; for sevral acc^{os}: and voyadg[es and] | have rated the same accordinglie, & broght yt to acc˚: of the Joint Stock, as *per* the Jornall | now sent may appeare, & as for some voiadges w*hi*ch were in the Custo[dy] of willm Shepp[ards account] | left *per* the death of m*r* Jones, I send heerw*i*th the Monie of m*r* [Sheppards] acc[ount given at his] | de*par*ture for Potany, in the James, wherby may be [seen what was remaining; which by reason] | of his sicknes, as I *per*ceive was not left in [better form, but Mr Gourney being desirous] | of him in that voyage, in liew of Rich: Cobb: who Remayneth [here in Bantam] the Cause is that | if m*r* Cobb had gone in the shipp, m*r* Gorney would not have *pro*ceeded [in] the voyadge : the reas[on] | that he alleadged was, that both in the shipp, & land he was very troblesome, and a breeder of | quarrells & debate amongst *par*tyes, & insufficient to doe anie busines w*hi*ch did belonge to a | m*er*chant, and now in the time of his abode in Bantam; his behaviour & Carriadg hath | verified the same, for *per* drunckennes fightinge & Raylinge, agreeinge with noe man & m[aki]nge | strife wth all men; hath made all honest men to loath his compan*ie*; Therfore *per* a [general] | consent he was deprived of the counsaile of m*er*chantes, as not able to conceale the secretts of [the worshipful] | Comp˜: Therfore we desired & required Cap*t*: marloe, to Cary him home in the James: | as yett he refuseth to doe, alleadging ffryvolous reasons to the contrary, som^times^ [saying that] | we must lay in victualls for him w*i*th two s*er*vantes to attend [him and a]t other ti[mes that he dares] | not carry home the comp˜: s*er*vants home wthout their order; [But, God sending the James well home,] | we doe not doubt but y^{r} woo^{ps}: shalbe at full acquaynted w*i*th the disorders of these [voyage. In] | all places where they have bene, they have left themselves famous, wth Infamy to our [nation,] | what *per* ffighting, brablinge, & Contention amongst themselves, troblinge all mean wher [they] | Come, hath bine the Cause, that all, both strangers, & others [are weary] of their Comp[any; and he] | that should governe all; is Chief Cause of their disord*er*s: [for what] discord tha[t hath been among] | them his hand hath bene out of yt either taking *par*te w*i*th one, or other, or brea[king out in] | such termes of Rayling, that he is little sett *per*; by his owne company, & lesse [by strangers] | & he is one of the first that doth trade publickly, contrary to y^{r} woo^{s}: order, and in all [places] | wher he hath bene; Therfore we weer constrained to buy a *par*cell of Choramandell [cloths of] | him, to the value of 1700R˚, because he had sould some quantety at lowe rattes & bro[ught down] | the price, to the great *pre*judice of the woorp^{ll}: Comp^{y}: & att *pre*sent he hath in the sh[ip about] | 10 or 12 chests of Benjamyn, for his *pe*per acc˚: and doth refuse to take in 15 [peculls of] | Cloves, w*hi*ch M^{r} Petty had bought, for himself before his death at his first coming to | Bantam , and offred at first 39 Rs˚ *per* pecull w*hi*ch we understanding therof [advised him the] | Contrary shewing him that he went about to raise the prices of [commodities, countrary to] | ord*er* he answering him that he did nothinge, but what he [had order] to doe: [wherefore we showed] | him y^{r} woo˚: lr~es to the Contrary; & beinge therat moved went

He is deprived *per* | a generall ~~xxxxxx~~ | consent of a Counsell

Marlo refuseth | to carry Cob home

The James men | have left them : | selves infamus | in all places wher | they came

Marlo traded | publicly.

We were constreyned | to buy of him to the | value of 1700 R : | in Coro: cloath | because he had sould | some quantity | at low rates etc

He hath in the ship | 10 or 12 Chestes | of Benjamin.

Pettie buieth | 15 pecull of Cloues

In his sickes he | desired th*at* the Cloves | might be sent | home to the Compa˚
Cap*t* Marlo would | not take them | in except | he bought them | for his owne | accompt

aboard his shipp [but after] | secretly caused some of his Company to buy these 15 peculls of Cloves, and being in [his] | sicknes desired, if yt pleased god to Call him, that they might be sent home to the | woo˚: Comp: & to advize that they were bought w*i*th his owne mony, and they might [deal] | wth them as they pleased, w*hi*ch we requyred Cap*t*: marloe to doe, w*hi*ch he refused [saying] | they could take in noe more goods for the Comp˚: but was desirous to buy them [for his] | owne acc˚: Soe if there were for his owne acc˚: they might be Caryed for England | being for the woorp^{ll}: Comp^{is}: acc˚: the shipp could carry noe more; These and many | wronges he doth because he thinkes to crosse us that be heere aland, for that we doe not | feede his insatiable desire w*ith* wyne, & give him such extraordinary duty as him self hath

Fol. 202^{v}

hath said, as if 3 of the Comityes were here *pre*sent : These thinges are not written *per* waye | of complaynt, or envy, but only to make knowne, as our duties byndes us, those thinges w*hi*ch are | *pre*judiciall to the *pro*ceedinges of the woo^{rll}: Comp^{y} etc. ||
Now after the de*par*ture of theise shippes we shall Remayne very weake, both of m*er*chantes and | other, in regard we are forced to have people at both howses, because att the old house lyeth all | the guzzuratt goods, w*hi*ch were form*er*ly in fower warehouses subject to fire, rayne, & stealinge. | Therfore we have brought yt all into one house, & have layd yt in the best maner we can; | devize to keep yt from woormes w*hi*ch form*er*ly hath done great spoyle, where yt laye before, soe | that we were constrayned to open as many packes as we *per*ceaved to be *per*ishd, & have | taken out the rotten, & sould it att trust as well as we might, & have repacked the remaind*er* | in smale Bales, each sort by it self, for that we find many names of the cloth mistaken, | as many sortes havinge 3 or 4 names for one sort of cloth & the reason is beinge bought | in the red sea of sundrye *per*sons vizt. Of Guzuratts, mogores; Arrabes, Turkes; & Industans, | each of them havynge [a several] name, accordinge to their Languagues; w*hi*ch wilbe a great | error in the End, in keeping of the accompts, except all the other goodes be opened, & a new | collection made according to their trew names, w*hi*ch will aske some time; ffor if the | collection already drawne continew as yt is, according to the packing bill, when [it comes] | to draw and balance of every sev*er*all accompt, ther wilbe found many *par*cells over, & many | short, as alsoe it wilbe very difficult for the sale, unto those that shall come heerafter for | that knowes not the sortes etc. ||
And as touchinge the building of o*ur* new howse, in the place where now we make o*ur* aboad,| beinge a place very convenyent & neere the river, w*hi*ch is obtained wth *pre*sentes & faire | *pro*mises *per* a wrytinge from the Pengran *pro*tecktor, wherin he doth give us leave to builde | and for the heyght of the walles he gave us a measure, and thinking o*ur*selves therw*i*th | secure, we have *pre*pared many necessaeries for the same, and fitted the place to begin | the build; w*hi*ch he *per*cievinge began a new w*i*th us vizt; ffirst we may not buyld above | three ffadome highe from the foundac*i*ones to the roofe; and we

must not make any howse | att Jaccatra, if we doe yt shalbe at his pleasure to take the plott of ground, & howse from | us againe; and we must deliver him our old mansion howse, soe that he will not have | us to have two howses; wheruppon we have left to *pro*ceed any further untill we finde | him in a better [humour] or other order from yo^{r}: woo^{ps}: Therfore we have bene w*i*th the | kynge of Jaccatra to hold his ffriendshipp, and he hath given us leave to build att o*ur* | pleasure, & hath given us a piece of ground neere the water side, & for customes | we are to pay as the Hollan*ders* doth, w*hi*ch is a small matter, not that he will constrain | us; But to give him some thinge as a *pre*sent; now the Pengran *pro*tector of Bantam | und*er*standinge therof, seemes to be very angry therat, and doth threaten to take from | us the plott of ground w*hi*ch he hath given us to build one; And as we suspect is | anymated *per* the Hollan*ders*: for that they would not have us to be soe neere neyghb*er*s to them | as alsoe we have bene crossed *per* them att Jaccatra, & att all other places wher ffactories | are: for in matt*er*s of trade, they are worse Enemies to us than the Portingalls; | Insomuch that in buyinge of silkes the last yeere they raised the prizes under | [colour] to make a [consortship] w*i*th us, thinking in the meane time to gett the most | *par*te [into] their owne hands, and when yt came to conclusion, their demaund was to have | 30 peculls, of Lankin, first laid aside, for them: and the remaynder w*hi*ch must be | some 40 peculles should be *par*ted equally betwixt us, soe *per* this meanes they should have | 50 peculls, and we 20 wheruppon we disagreed & *par*ted each of us to doe his best, | And now att the receyt of pep*per* we demaunding o*ur* dett*ers* to bringe in their pep*per*: they | began to raise the price givynge 15 15 Rs˚ for 10 sacks; we havinge bought att 13 ½ Rs˚ | the deerest, & this they did thinking to have all into their owne hands knowing that | the Chinezes, for covetousnes to gaine 1 1/2Rs˚ in 10 sacks & rec: *pre*sent mony would | bring them the most *par*te, the Chinezes little esteemynge theire [words] & lesse their | honesty; for this cause we shalbe the longer rec: in of our debtes in pep*per*; & to goe | to law wth them heer it is but in vayne; for that answeere hath bene made us *per* the

Fol. 203^{r}

the cheiff officcers; that if the debt*or*s cann[ot pay us we must stay] untill they | are able etc. ||

The Hollanders | Courses in sellng | their cloath at | low values as we | canot reach unto

| The Hollan*ders* take such Extraordinary Cour[ses in putting out] their cloth to the | Chinezes, & at such lowe rates to be payd the [next] year [in pepper] that we cannot | sell any of ours, because it is not soe vendible in the countrye [for] they giveth | them choyse of comodities that w*hi*ch is fittinge for the country; wherof we have | little store; They have already deliv*er*ed out above 40000 Rs˚ thinkinge by that | meanes, to gett all the pep*per* into their hands the next yeere; and as for our comodities | there is not anie but will looke one yt; Therfore fitting that yt should be Trans*por*ted | to other countreys wher some *par*te therof, may be vented, w*hi*ch [cannot] be done with | out shipping: and as for the saylers ther wilbe noe deal[ing with them] unlesse | agrement be made w*i*th them at home, to to st[ay in the country and for] their wages |

To Condition 16th o*ur* | sailers to serve in | those contries

Onely .4. merchantes | wilbe left in Bantam | besides m*r* Jordain

Need to have staed | factors in far | distant places

Necessary to place | factory in Japara under the king of | Mutran & at | [ ] : both being | upon Java: as | also at Timour | wher is store of | Saderwood to be | bought for the Coast | & Surratt, & for | the China Junckes | there also our cloathing | will sell etc

Little profit yett | from Suceadana
At Sambas good store of Diamons.

Here are Como: lying | w*hi*ch for England wil | not be worth their | fraight as synamo*n* | purslan; w*hi*ch would | yeild proffitt in Surrat | & Dabull

August. Spalding | half cleared of his | imputac*i*on

otherwise they will looke to have their [wages beforehand, else they will] not stay in | the countrey; And as for the m*er*chantes w*hi*ch [are here remaining, I] would wish | for some more of the like faculty & carriage being all sufficient men for | their places; and after the de*par*ture of the Concord, heer will remaine 4 besides | my self. Vizt. Rich: Westby, Jn˚: Bayllis: Samuell Boyle: & W^{m} nicolles; | who was pursers mate of the dragon, now for the ffactories w*hi*ch are in | other places, yt is neccessary to have stayd men there, that may, *pro*cure the | good of the Comp^{y}: & the love of the people *per* ther good carriag, w*hi*ch out of this | smale company that are here, cannot be spared, but o*ur* hope is of the next shipp | w*hi*ch att ther comyng, we hold yt necessary to place ffactories att Jappara under | the king of Mattran, & at gracia, both lyinge uppon Java: as alsoe at Timour | wher ther is store of Sander wood to be bought, which is a very good comoditye | at the coast amd suratt, alsoe heer in Bantam, when the China Junckes come | as likewise these places will vent those comodties w*hi*ch will not sell heere in | many yeeres. ||
And as for the trade of Succadana, ther is as yett but little *pro*ffitt had from | hence but we have better hopes heerafter, if ther were some one of experience | and care of his busines; The contrey doth vent but a smale quantety of cloth; But yt | may be at Borneo, w*hi*ch is the cheifest place of trade, there wilbe better sales and | Bezar stones gotten for yt; also ther is a place called Sambas, betwixt Succada^{nn}, & | Borneo; wher there ys some hope of store of dyamonts; where Cassaryan davyd, who | sent, *per* m*r* Larkyn, but as yett nowe certaine newes what good may be here done; onlye | the kynge, & people of the countrey are desirous of Trade; Att *pre*sent we want a pinace | & men, to supply that ffactory of Succadana, & the rest theraboutes etc. | Heere are comodities lyinge one o*ur* handes, w*hi*ch to be sent for England, are scarce worth | the ffreayght; as synamon, & purslane, w*hi*ch would yeild good *pro*ffitt in S[uratt] or Dabull; w*i*th | other m*er*chandize that are heer to be had, vendible in those places [for which] *pur*pose we want | a smale shipp of some force, such as the Hoziander [to go] to & fro [which wo]uld not be onlye | *pro*ffitable for the sale of such goods as are here to be gotten, but alsoe the [retur]ne would yeild | heere great *pro*ffitt; we now understanding what goods is most vendible in these countries | and what the countrey of Surratt, and Dabull doth yeild etc | And wheras y^{r} woo^{ps}: doth wryte in a l˜re directed to Edward Camden, or cheife ffactor | to use all meanes to understand, of the dealinges of Augustyn Spalding, consernyng certaine | cloves; wherof he is accused ^to buy^ at a lowe prise; and sould to the Comp^{y}: at a deere rate, | dealing under hand w*i*th the Chinezes, I have diligently enquired about that matter, but | canot understand *per* anie cicumstances to be guiltye theryn; only uppon suspicion, because | of his famyliarity w*i*th the Chynezes; and of some 10 or 15 peculles w*hi*ch he bought att | 15 Rs˚ *per* pecull, before the Comynge of the shippes, for his *pep*per ac˚: beinge full of dust and | not worth the money after they were garbled, or cleansed, w*hi*ch he caryed for his

owne

Fol. 203^{v}

o[wn account in the Solomon. Th]us much I understood by Kewee, who was halfe w*i*th him in his | [bargain of cloves etc. Now concerning the Trades Inc]rease, that was layd upp one the Oaes, as *per* the dragon, Clove, & | Ex[pedition] your woo$^{\circ}$: have att larg understood; about 2 monthes past shee was fired *per* night | sud[denly] from Stem, to sterne, that none could come neeer to quench yt, w*hi*ch we suppose | was done one *pur*pose *per* the Javas, because form*er*lye shee had bine sett one fire twise, and | by [great] help, we quenched yt, againe, w*hi*ch now was Impossible to doe, because she was as | [we supp]ose layd all fore, and Aft, w*i*th this countrey pitch, otherwise shee could not have soe | sodenly taken fire; w*hi*ch we suspect was done by the better sort of Javaes, by the Instigac*i*on | of a Renegatho Spanyard which is turned moore; puttinge them in the heads, that in time | [she] might serve in leuw of a castle; shee was burnt in one nyght close to the | water and what is remaynynge of her yt is sould for 1050 Rs$^{\circ}$ as *per* accompt may appeare; | Thus havinge advized y^{r}: woo^{ps}: of all maters that ys in memorie, and what is | wantinge in this, shall by gods grace, be *per*formed in the next, we laeve prayinge the | Almighty to blesse your *pro*ceedinge, and augment, the Estate of the woorp^{ll}: Companye; | to his glory, and the Honn^{r}: of o^{r} Nation; Amen; - - . / .

Poscript: Woorp^{ll}: my former l˜res beinge wrytten: yt pleased god to bringe in the Globe; | [weak] of men, & havinge bine esquired of Capt: Marlo, and m*r* fflorys, to assist them for the | good of the woor^{ll}: Comp^{y}: wheruppon a court was called & after w*i*th good diliberrac*i*on yt | was concluded, that the concord should be laid upp for the reliefe of both Voyadges: | accordinge to the copie of the said conclution sent heerw*i*th may att larg appeare: And | wheras there was laden aboard the James, 3673 sacks of pep*per* for theaccompt of the Joint | stocke; beinge concluded that the Globe is to take in the Hozianders pep*per*: and the 7th | voyadg to Rc: soe much out of the James, of the pep*per* for the Joint Stock: the ffraight | to be payd as your woor^{ps}: shall agree. | The coppies of the courts and agrements I send heerw*i*th if not as Large as I desire | [ ]my next *per* the Globe; and touchinge the James whome I | [ ]both w*i*th men, and all othe necessary *pro*vision fyttinge | [gett]e Captayne of the James, doth Disquyett both howses, [and fleet, that I | [could bett]er Temporize wth John Davys, in his drinck than w*i*th the | [insatiable] Captaynn [in his] his best wyttes; and as for thaccompts *per* the Jornall y^{r} Woorship[full] | [Company's] state of busines stands here in Bantam to this p*re*sent: and | what more passeth to the de*par*ture of the Globe to w*hi*ch I reffer; The tyme p*re*sent | not admyttinge to be more large: Herrw*i*thall goeth a noate of what *pro*vision is | put into the James, so alsoe of the men; And soe att present I conclude comendynge | y^{r} woo^{rs}: with yo*ur* affaires ^to^ the m*er*cyfull *pro*tection of Almighty god I rest | Bantam the 15 January Yo^{r} wo^{rps} to comaund in all duty John Jourdain [flour.]

Ann$^{\circ}$ 1614

Fig. 16: IOR E/3/2 fol. 201[r] (full page view).

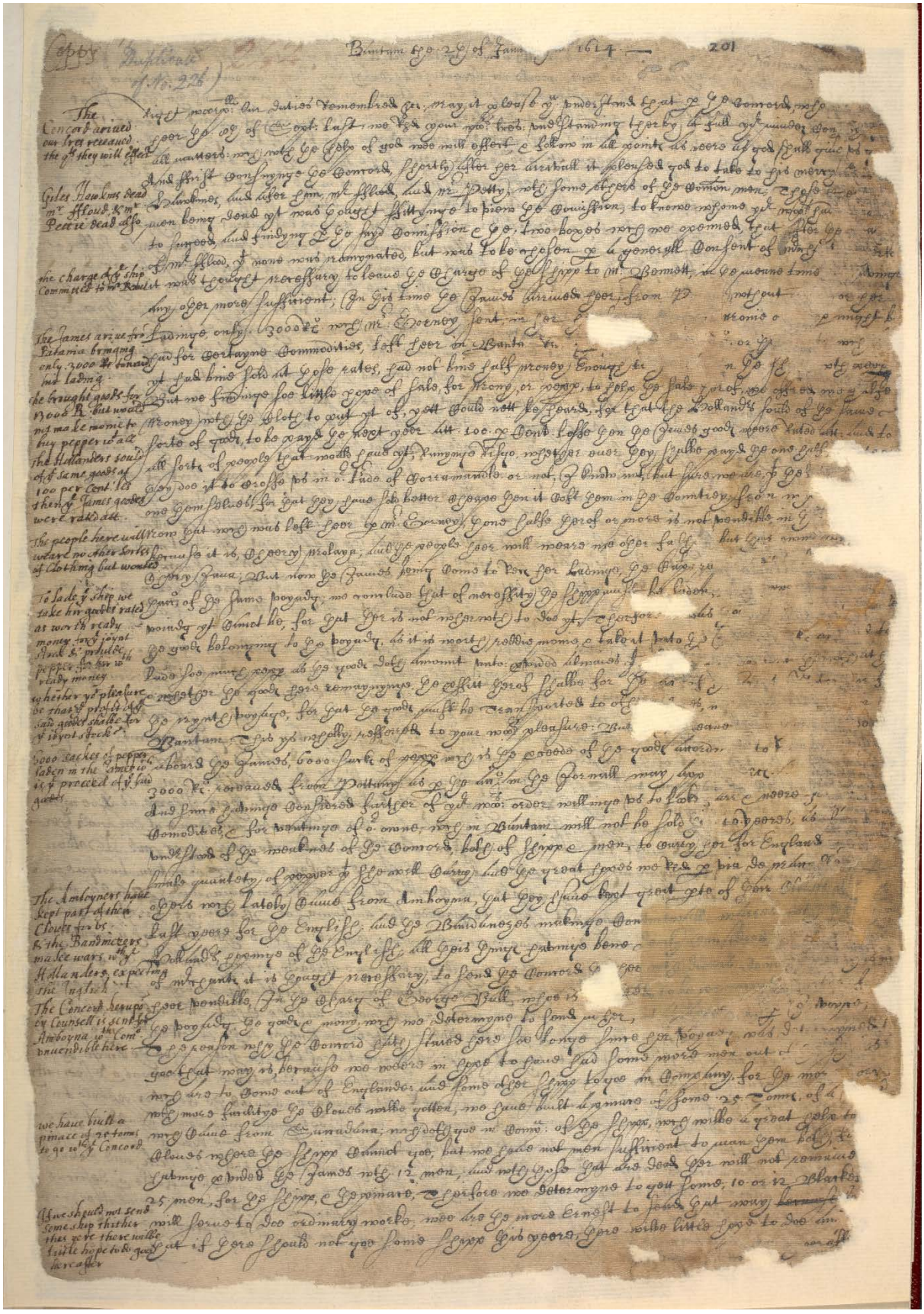
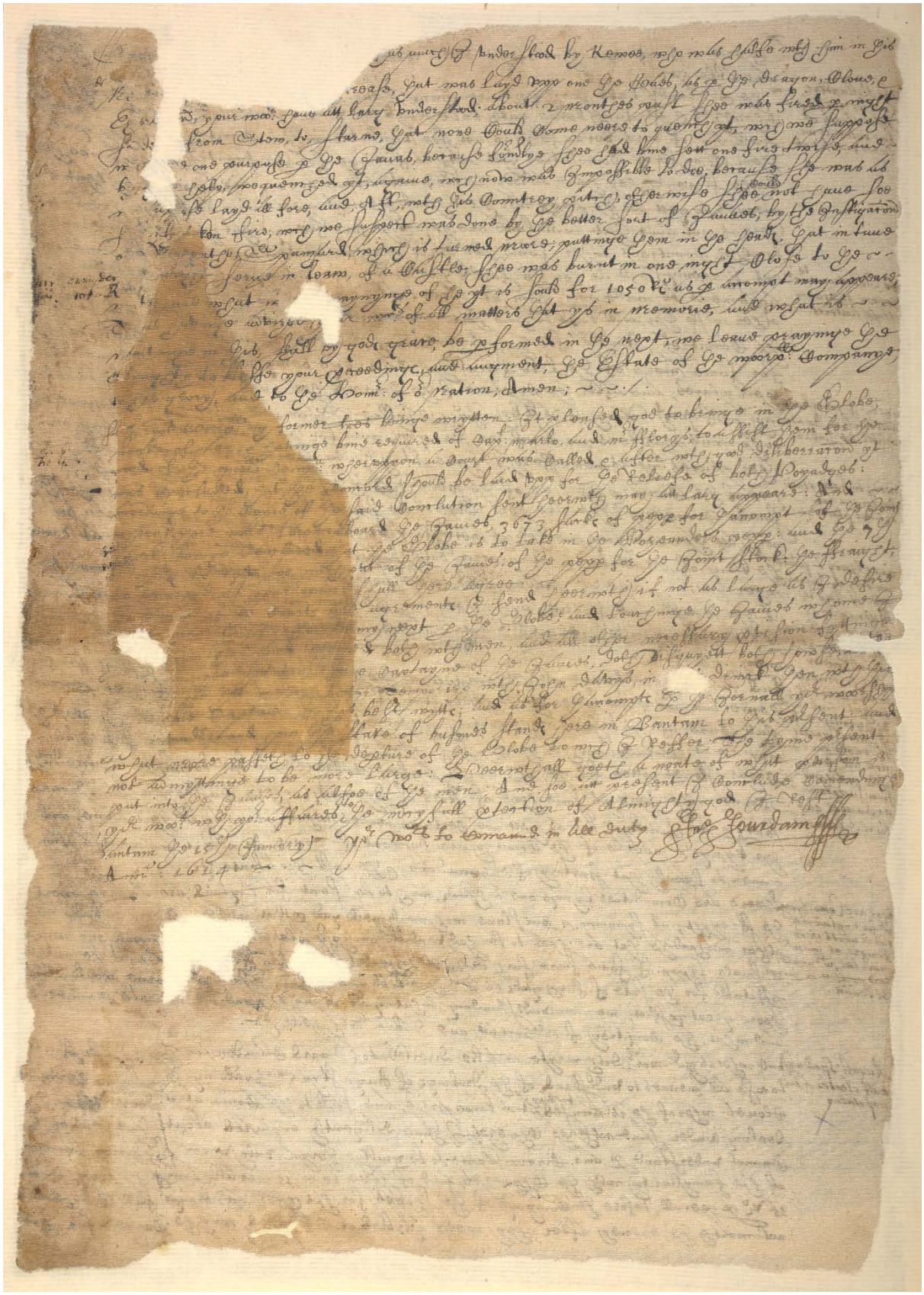


Fig. 17: IOR E/3/2 fol. 203^{v} (full page view).



APPENDIX B

Full texts of memoranda, letters, notices etc

Editorial notes and transcription policy

Most of the script in the IOR's late nineteenth-century internal papers presents few problems to the transcriber or the editor. I have silently normalized long *s* where it appears, and reproduced the spatial distribution of text on the page as much as possible: long sections of continuous prose are left unlineated to save space, and page breaks inserted into the text.

IOR L/E/2/53 item 531, fols 2^{r} – 5^{v}: Memorandum, George Birdwood to IO

Transcription:

[fol. 2^{r}]

Minute Paper. Statistics and Commerce Dept.

On my appointment to the Curatorship of the
Museum, Col. Burne C.S.J. sent me a box
which he had received from Sir John Kaye
on the retirement of the latter from office, with
the statement that it had been lying in his
room from beyond the memory of any one in
the Political Department, and was said to
contain very important documents. I found
in it 51 tally-sticks; -- a bag marked "fifteen
pagodas", which on being opened, I found to
contain two lumps of iron; -- and forty
parchments all mixed together in the
greatest confusion.
These documents relate to the East India
Company, and are with only two or three
^exceptions^ under the Great Seal.-

[fol .2^{v}]

Among them are,--
Licenses for the Exportation of English and foreign gold coin,-- also of spices and drugs: --

Commissions for the Commanders of the East India Company's fleets:--

Also for Enquiry into the disbursements of the moneys collected towards the Expedition for suppressing the pirates of Algiers:--

Warrant from the Lord Protector Cromwell for the payment of £50,000 to the East India Company:--

Mandate from James, Duke of York, to sell the contents of a Dutch Prize ship:--

Acquittances to the East India Company for the sale of Dutch prizes, two of which were sold for His Majesty's use for the sum of £154,969:13:5, and four others for £174,741:9:8:--

Also for loans from the E.I. Company to King Charles II, and for large sums of money for saltpetre bought by His Majesty of the E.I. Company:--

Charles II letters of November 12th, 1684, commanding John Petit. "notoriously suspected to have been an encourager [fol. 3r] and adviser of the late rebellion at Bombay", and others therein named, to return to England:--

Communications to seize pirates, and letters of Marque granted by King George II during the war with France & Spain.

No. 23 is a release from Prince Rupert & others to the E.I.Company, and bears the signatures of Prince Rupert, Lords Latimer, Ormonde and Craven, Sir Henry Coventry and Sir John Duncombe.—

But by far the most interesting parchment in the collection is No.33, the Original Roll of Subscribers for raising £2,000,000 at £8 per. cent. per annum; and for settling the trade to the East Indies. It bears the signatures of all the subscribers, and the amounts they subscribed. Some of the more interesting signatures are abstracted in the accompanying Calendar.

The two Commissions (No 37 & 40) to the Commanders of the Royal George do not relate to Kempenfeldts ship which went down at Spithead on Aug: 30th 1782. The first Commission bears date in 1737, and the Royal George therein mentioned [fol. 3v] carried only 30 guns and 98 men. The second Commission is dated in 1758 and the Royal George therein mentioned carried only 24 guns and 80 men.

Many of these Documents have a vignette portrait, beautifully executed, of the reigning sovereigns. But in two or three instances, the document has been disgracefully mutilated by cutting out the vignette portrait. As a rule the Great Seal is either missing or much damaged. There are however, two or three fair specimens, notably of the Lord Protector Cromwell,-- by Old Simon.

Finding these documents of such interest in relation to the East India Company, whilst it was impossible for me to decipher many parts of them, I wrote & asked Sir Duffus Hardy if he could be good enough to allow a Calendar of them to be prepared by an Expert in the Rolls Office. The Calendar thus prepared by Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury is attached. I would respectfully suggest that an honorarium of twenty guineas may be presented to Mr. Sainsbury for his [fol. 4r] trouble. He is the Editor of the Calendar of papers relating to the East India Company prepared under the authority of the Rolls Office, and the honorarium I now propose is at the rate of the remuneration he has hitherto received as editor of the aforesaid work. Mr Sainsbury has noted many of the present documents which are enrolled at the Patent Rolls preserved at the Public Record Office.

I beg further to request that I may be allowed to expand this minute into a paper for the Royal Society of Literature. Mr Vaux is very solicitous that I should be allowed to do so, and will publish the accompanying Calendar in full in the Society's Transactions, if I may write a paper on them for the Society.

I would also venture to suggest that the parchments should be carefully restored, and exhibited in this Office. I would not have them sent to the Museums. They are not idle curiosities [fol.4v] to be toyed about in museums, but State Archives which should be reverently kept in the India Office itself: and after restoration should be rolled up, and put away in a glass cabinet in the Council Room. The roll of the original Subscribers of the £2,000,000 stock which contains the names of nearly the whole of the well to-do middle class people of England a century ago, should never again pass out of sight.

The tally sticks are mere curiosities, unless indeed, the fact of their not having been burnt is a proof of money still owing to the Indian Government by the Treasury. The tallies were, I believe, always kept until a debt was paid – and were then burnt.

George Birdwood
Curator of the India Museum
April 17th 1875

The Statistics and Commerce Committee recommend that the following porposals of Dr. Birdwood be approved:--

1. That a grant of £21 be made to Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, of the Record Office, for his trouble in preparing the calendar of the Old Records.
2. That Dr. Birdwood be allowed to read a paper on the subject of these records before the Royal Society of Literature, and to furnish a copy of the Calendar to the Society for publication.
3. That the documents be carefully restored and exhibited ^with the tally sticks^ in the Museum[1] and ^that they^ be eventually sent to the Library for custody.

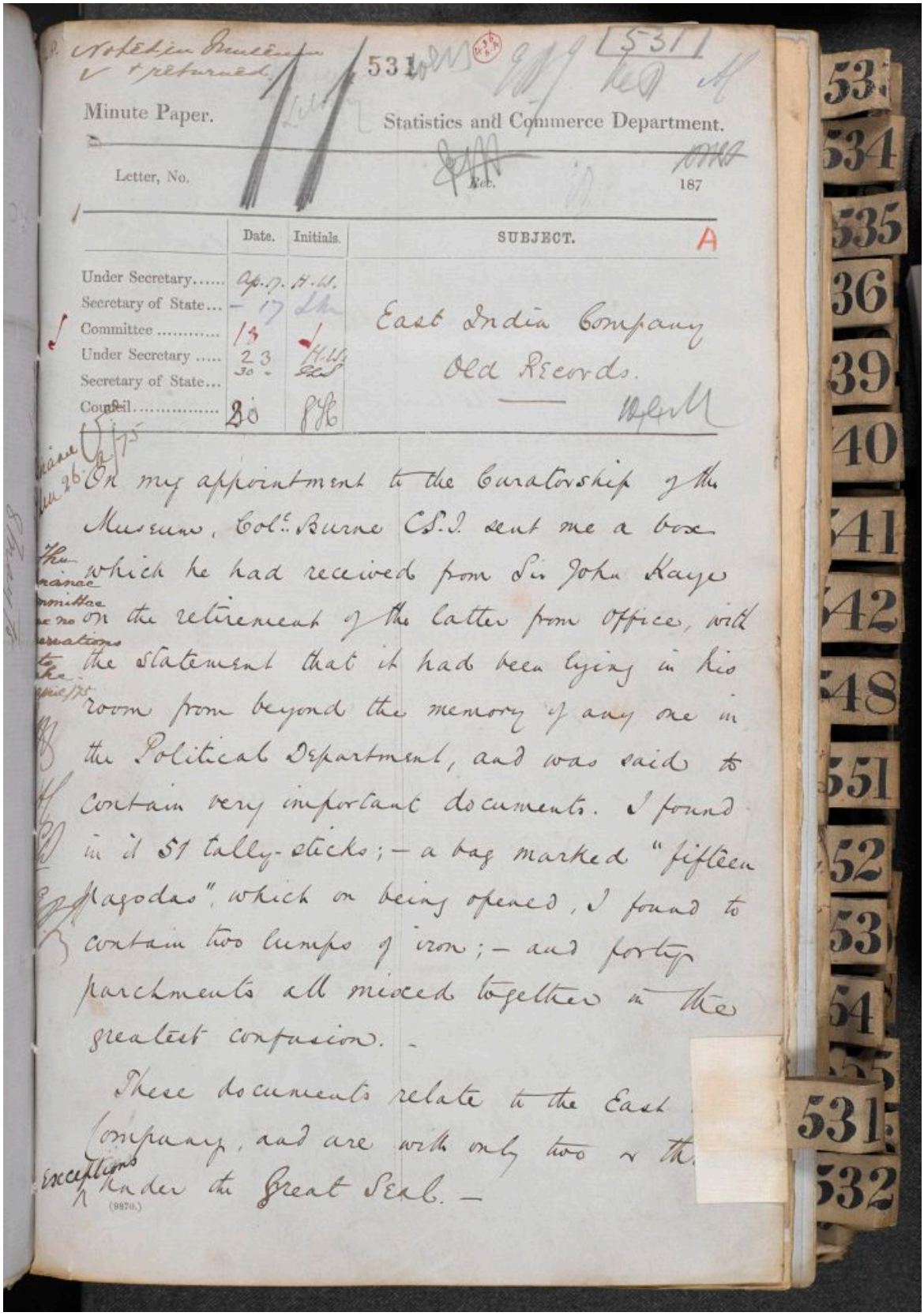
Sir John Kaye in a letter
to the Times ^Pall Mall Gazette^ says he found the
original Firmaun to Lord Clive of 1765
& has it framed & glazed in his private
library - Should it not be restored to this office? -HBF

Sir L. Mallet
has written to him
about it. HW

This seems to be the Treaty of
Allahabad now in Mr Godley's room
W.F 18.7.90

[1] Very heavily underlined in pencil.

Fig. 18: IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 2r, full page view



Minute Paper. Statistics and Commerce Department.

Letter, No. &c. 187

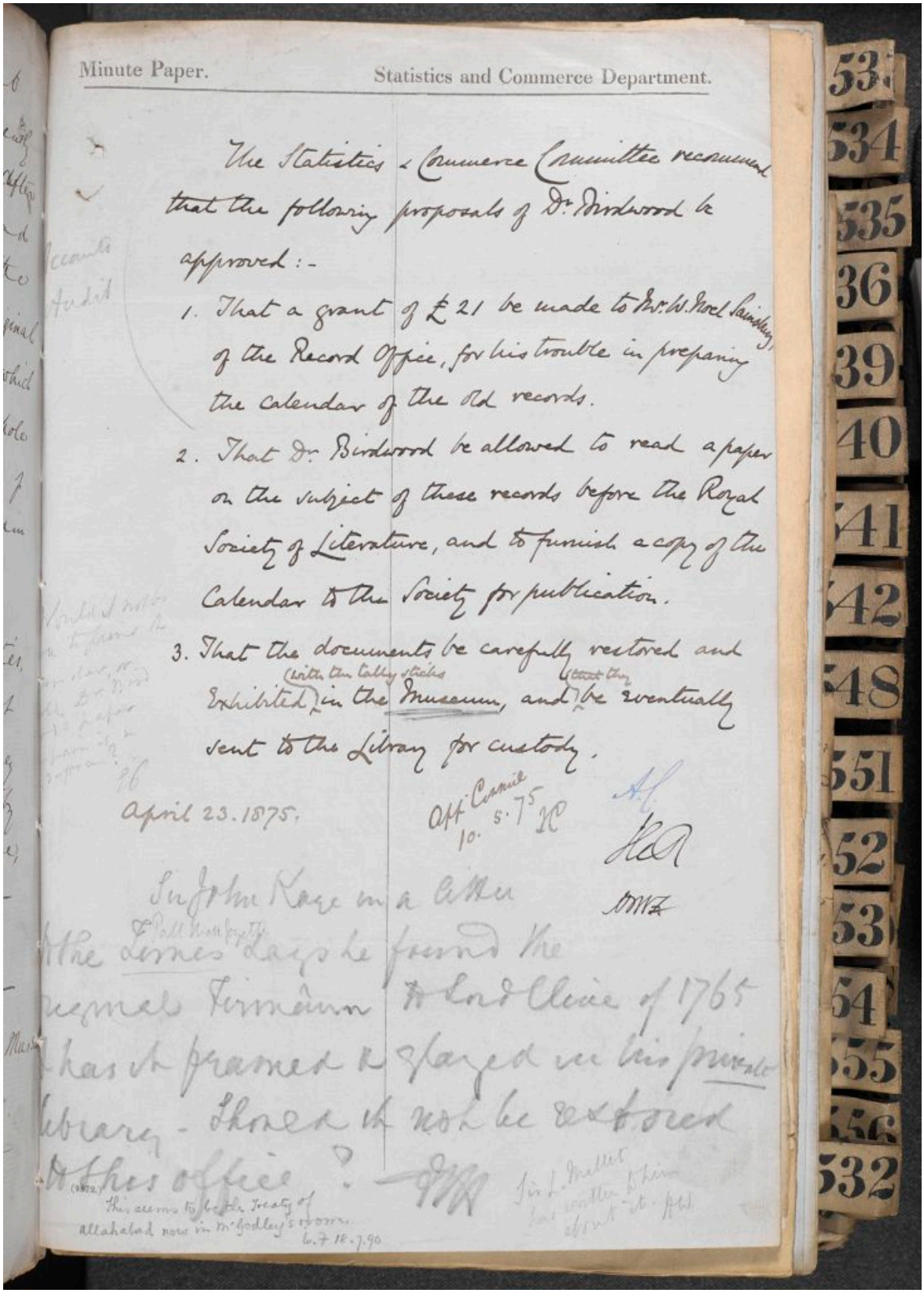
	Date.	Initials.	SUBJECT.
Under Secretary.....			East India Company Old Records.
Secretary of State...			
Committee			
Under Secretary			
Secretary of State...			
Council.....			

On my appointment to the Curatorship of the Museum, Colonel Burne C.S.I. sent me a box which he had received from Sir John Kaye on the retirement of the latter from Office, with the statement that it had been lying in his room from beyond the memory of any one in the Political Department, and was said to contain very important documents. I found in it 51 tally-sticks;— a bag marked "fifteen Pagodas", which on being opened, I found to contain two lumps of iron;— and forty parchments all mixed together in the greatest confusion.—

These documents relate to the East India Company, and are with only two or three exceptions under the Great Seal.—

(9870.)

Fig. 19: IOR L/E/2/53, item 531, fol. 5^{v}, full page view



Minute Paper. Statistics and Commerce Department.

The Statistics & Commerce Committee recommend that the following proposals of Dr. Birdwood be approved:-

1. That a grant of £21 be made to Mr. W. Rod Sainsbury of the Record Office, for his trouble in preparing the calendar of the old records.
2. That Dr. Birdwood be allowed to read a paper on the subject of these records before the Royal Society of Literature, and to furnish a copy of the Calendar to the Society for publication.
3. That the documents be carefully restored and Exhibited (with the tally sticks) in the Museum, and (that they) be eventually sent to the Library for custody.

April 23. 1875.

Off. Comm. 10. 5.75

Sir John Kaye in a letter to the Times says he found the original Firmaun of Lord Clive of 1765 has it framed & glazed in his private library - Should it not be restored to the office?

(1872) This seems to be the Treaty of Allahabad now in Mr Godley's possession. 6.7.18.7.90

Sir L. Mallet has written to him about it. St. Pet.

53
534
535
36
39
40
41
42
48
551
52
53
54
55
56
532

Sir John Kaye to *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 27 1875, p. 5

THE ALLEGED DISCOVERIES AT THE INDIA OFFICE.
the EDITOR *of the* PALL MALL GAZETTE.
SIR:--I have read with much interest, and I must add, with some surprise, the paragraph in the *Athenæum*, copied into your *Gazette* of Sunday last, relating to the discovery of some valuable historical documents at the India Office, supposed to have been unknown to the officials of that department of Her Majesty's service.
When the Old East India Company was extinguished as a governing body, the India House in Leadenhall-street was evacuated and sold. During the evacuation some discoveries were made by some intelligent messengers of the establishment when effecting a clearance of obscure parts of the house. Knowing my literary proclivities, they brought to my notice certain rubbish (long so regarded) to be found in such out-of-the-way places. I went into the cellars, and there found some very early records of the consultations at Surat and Madras. These were brought to the upper air; and the when the library *in transitu* was moved to Cannon-row, I made them over to the late Mr Millar, assistant librarian, and I saw them in his custody in one of the rooms formerly occupied by the Board of Control. Besides these papers from India there was discovered a large cylindrical black box, containing some of the earliest transactions of the East India Company—charters, subscriptions to loans, &c., with the original signatures and seals (some of the greatest interest as historical curiosities)—and this I had conveyed to my official quarters, where they remained until the state of my health compelled me to resign office towards the close of last year. I knew that they were perfectly safe in my own room, and I waited only until some definite arrangements might be made with respect to the library and museum to make them over to the department to which it might be considered advisable to transfer curiosities of this description. At a later period (after we had migrated to the West-end) a roll of parchment was brought to me by one of our messengers, asking if it were of any value. I found that it was the original treaty (in English and Persian) of Allahabad—August, 1765—signed by Lord Clive and General Carnac, with the seal of the Nabob, Hoojah-ood-Dowlah. I ordered it to be framed and glazed, and it is now in my private library, whence (renouncing all claims of flotsam and jetsam) I am prepared to transfer it at any moment to the officer appointed to take charge of the old historical memorials of the Company in days before those of registers, catalogues, and indices.
I believe that these statements will explain all that is obscure in the paragraph in the last *Athenæum*. Other documents may have been discovered of which I have no knowledge. But as I have reason to believe that everything of historical value was brought to me before our exodus from Leadenhall-street, I scarcely think that it is probable. I have always wished to see properly calendared (with copious extracts) the early memorials of the East India Company. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when Secretary of State for India, encouraged this undertaking, but it did not meet with any favour from the Council of India, so the scheme fell to the ground. in former days the Company kept a historiographer, and Mr. Bruce, in that capacity, published in 1810 some bulky volumes, under the title of "Annals of the East India Company;" but no such functionary has existed for many years past, and I have not discovered that the early days of the East India Companies are regarded with much lingering interest by those who administer the affairs of Her Majesty's Indian Government.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, JOHN WILLIAM KAYE. *April 26*

IOR L/E/2/53 item 531, fols 5ʳ-5ᵛ: unsigned memorandum

~~Sanitary~~ ^Statistics and Commerce^ Department

A letter from Sir JK, in the PMG, appears to call for some notice. he writes: " When the Old East India Company was extinguished as a governing body, the India House in Leadenhall-street was evacuated and sold. During the evacuation some discoveries were made by some intelligent messengers of the establishment when effecting a clearance of obscure parts of the house. Knowing my literary proclivities, they brought to my notice certain rubbish (long so regarded) to be found in such out-of-the-way places." These words give a very inaccurate description of the old book-room at the India House, a portion of the building consisting of five floors, shut off from the rest of the Office by fire-proof doors. Here all the oldest records were carefully placed on shelves, catalogued in so perfect a manner that, when Lord Ellenborough visited the India House, and - to test the record system - called for one of the old treaties, it was produced by Mr Ward, the Keeper of the Records, in 3 1/2 minutes. Doubtless, the Surat and Madras Consultations, being the oldest, were in the lowest room; but to speak of them being put away as rubbish in out-of-the-way cellars, gives a wrong impression of the manner in which they were preserved.

Sir John Kaye speaks of the old papers being brought to him, in consideration of his "literary proclivities". The fact is that, when it was in contemplation to remove the records to the West End, and it was supposed that many might with advanatge be destroyed, a committee was appointed to decide which should be retained.. Over the Committee Sir John Kaye was selected to preside, partly no doubt on account of his "literary proclivities", partly as being the secretary to the Political and Secret Department, and therefore peculiarly qualified to judge of the value of the older documents. The other Members of the Committee were Mʳ Hornidge, "searcher of Records" and head of the Record Department, and Mʳ Ward, Book Office registrar, that is, one who actually had the custody of the documents to that time. Any papers which were brought to Sir John Kaye’s notice must have been so brought to him as President of this Committee, and on him rested primarily the responsibility of their proper disposal. The papers which he speaks of having given to the late Assistant Librarian are now in Dr. Rost's study.

With regard to the box, he opening of which has given rise to the discussion, Sir John Kaye cannot have refreshed his memory with an inspection of the papers since they were first brought to his notice, as there are no "charters" or "subscriptions to loans" among the contents, and he omits all notice of the very interesting roll of signatures to the original memorial for the constitution of an East India Company. As soon as Dr Birdwood receives official sanction to his proposed paper before the Royal Society of Literature, he will be able to explain to the world what the box really did contain. Sir John Kaye further speaks of a roll of parchment being brought to him by one of the messengers, which he found to be the original treaty between Clive and Shoojah-ood-dowlah, and which he had framed and glazed and transferred to his private library... It is singular that Sir John Kaye should have thought himself justified in appropriating a document of this nature, and not less singular that he should select a newspaper as the vehicle for proclaiming that he has done so, and is willing to give up his spoils. Perhaps a demi-official note, requesting him to return the Treaty, would be the best form for making the application.

No remark- HcR

Sir John Kaye's letter
is a very improper one. I
propose to tell him privately
that he ought not to have
written it, & to request him
to return the India Office
property which he has hitherto
kept in the library.
LM 28 a. /75

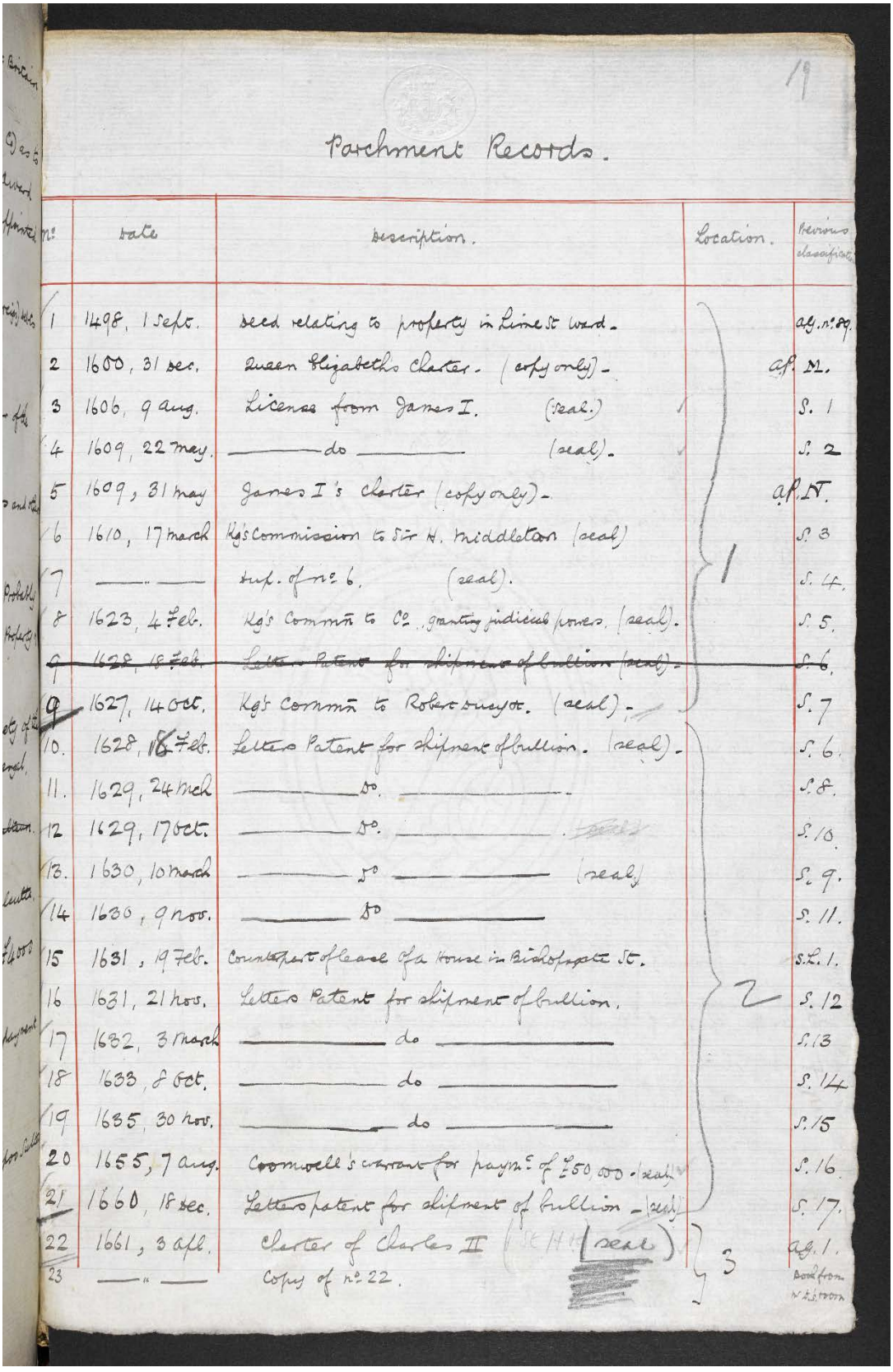
IOR H/710, fol. 10[r]: William Foster, parchment records table

Transcription:

Parchment Records.

No	Date	Description.	Location.	Previous description
1	1498, 1 Sept.	Deed relating to property in Lime St Ward	-	AG. no.89
2	1600, 31 Dec.	Queen Elizabeth's Charter. (copy only).		AP. M.
3	1606, 9 aug.	License from James I. (seal).		S.1
4	1609, 22 May.	----------do---------- (seal).		S.2
5	1609, 31 May	James I's charter (copy only).		AP.N
6	1610, 17 March	Kg's commission to sir H. middleton (seal)		S.3
7	---------"----------	Dup. of no. 6. (seal)	1	S.4
8	1623, 4 feb.	Kg's Comm*n* to Co. granting judicial powers (seal).		S.5
~~9~~	~~1628, 18 feb.~~	~~Letters Patent for shipment of bullion (seal).~~		~~S.6~~
9	1627, 14 Oct.	Kg's Comm*n* to Robert Ducyor. (seal).	_	S.7
10	1628, 18 feb.	Letters Patent for shipment of bullion. (seal).	-	S.6
11	1629, 24 Mch	--------do--------		S.8
12	1629, 17 Oct.	--------do--------		S.10
13	1630, 10 March	--------do-------- (seal).		S.9
14	1630, 9 nov.	--------do--------		S.11
15	1631, 19 Feb.	Counterpart of lease of a House in Bishopsgate st.		S.L.1.
16	1631, 21 nov.	Letters Patent for shipment of bullion.	2	S.12
17	1632, 3 March	--------do--------		S.13
18	1633, 8 Oct.	--------do--------		S.14
19	1635, 30 nov.	--------do--------		S.15
20	1655, 7 aug.	Cromwell's warrant for paym~ of $50,000. (seal)		S.16
21	1660, 18 De.	Letters patent for shipment of bullion. (seal)	_	S.17
22	1661, 5 apr.	Charter of Charles II (seal)	-	AG.1
23	----"----	Copy of no. 22	_3	Book from Mr D's room

Figure 20: IOR H/710 fol. 10[r], full page view.



19

Parchment Records.

Nos	Date	Description.	Location.	Previous classification.
1	1498, 1 Sept.	Deed relating to property in Lime St Ward.		alf. no 89.
2	1600, 31 dec.	Queen Elizabeth's Charter. (copy only).		alf. M.
3	1606, 9 aug.	License from James I. (seal.)		S. 1
4	1609, 22 may.	——— do ——— (seal).		S. 2
5	1609, 31 may	James I's charter (copy only).		alf. N.
6	1610, 17 march	Kg's Commission to Sir H. Middleton (seal)		S. 3
7	——— " ———	Dup. of no 6. (seal).		S. 4.
8	1623, 4 Feb.	Kg's Commn to Co. granting judicial powers. (seal).		S. 5.
~~9~~	~~1628, 18 Feb.~~	~~Letters Patent for shipment of bullion (seal).~~		~~S. 6.~~
9	1627, 14 Oct.	Kg's Commn to Robert Bruyor. (seal).		S. 7
10.	1628, 18 Feb.	Letters Patent for shipment of bullion. (seal).		S. 6.
11.	1629, 24 March	——— Do. ———.		S. 8.
12	1629, 17 Oct.	——— Do. ———.		S. 10.
13.	1630, 10 March	——— Do ——— (seal)		S. 9.
14	1630, 9 nov.	——— Do ———		S. 11.
15	1631, 19 Feb.	Counterpart of lease of a house in Bishopsgate St.		S.L. 1.
16	1631, 21 nov.	Letters Patent for shipment of bullion.		S. 12
17	1632, 3 March	——— do ———		S. 13
18	1633, 8 Oct.	——— do ———		S. 14
19	1635, 30 nov.	——— do ———		S. 15
20	1655, 7 aug.	Cromwell's warrant for payment of £50,000. (seal)		S. 16.
21	1660, 18 dec.	Letters patent for shipment of bullion. (seal)		S. 17.
22	1661, 3 apl.	Charter of Charles II (seal)		alf. 1.
23	——— " ———	Copy of no 22.		Book from Westminster

APPENDIX C

Fig. 21: IOR H/710 fol. 58^{r}

William Foster: notepaper detailing the dispersal of the Injured Papers, 1887. Full page view (overleaf).

F. F.

Papers as re-arranged in accordance with old catalogue. 4.1.87.

First list - none.

Second list.

see O.C. 97.

1. †
2. ✠ † ∇ ~~π~~ Straits
3. † ~~1~~ ~~6~~ ~~14~~
4. ~~8~~ ~~11~~ Sumatra
6. ~~10~~ ~~20~~
7. ~~3~~ ~~4~~ ~~5~~ ~~7~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~13~~ ~~20~~ ~~21~~
8. ~~1~~ ~~2~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~13~~ ~~19~~
9. ~~2~~ ~~3~~ ~~4~~ ~~6~~ ~~7~~ ~~8~~ ~~10~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~13~~
10. ~~1~~ ~~2~~ ~~3~~ ~~4~~
11. ~~2~~ ~~3~~ ~~5~~ ~~10~~
12. ~~5~~ ~~6~~ ~~7~~ ~~10~~ ~~14~~ ~~22~~ ~~26~~ ~~30~~ 35 Persia
13. ~~1~~ ~~5~~ ~~6~~ ~~9~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~14~~ ~~15~~ ~~21~~ ~~22~~ ~~24~~ ~~26~~
14. ~~1~~ ~~4~~ ~~5~~ ~~8~~ ~~9~~ ~~10~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~15~~ ~~25~~
15. 10. 11. 18. 25. 27.
16. 6. 15.
17. 3. 5. 11. 13.
18. ✠
19. 4.

Third list. ~~1~~ ~~2~~ ~~3~~ ~~4~~ ~~7~~ ~~8~~ ~~12~~ ~~13~~ ~~19~~ ~~21~~ ~~24~~ ~~28~~ ~~30~~ ~~31~~ ~~32~~ ~~33~~ ~~34~~ ~~35~~ ~~36~~ ~~37~~ ~~38~~ ~~39~~ ~~40~~ ~~41~~ ~~42~~ ~~43~~ ~~44~~ ~~45~~ ~~46~~ ~~47~~ ~~48~~ ~~49~~ ~~50~~ ~~51~~ ~~52~~ ~~53~~ ~~54~~ ~~55~~ ~~56~~ ~~57~~ ~~58~~ ~~59~~ ~~60~~ ~~61~~ ~~62~~ ~~63~~ ~~64~~ ~~65~~ ~~66~~ ~~67~~ ~~68~~ ~~69~~ ~~70~~ ~~71~~ ~~72~~ ~~73~~ ~~74~~ ~~75~~ ~~76~~ ~~77~~ ~~78~~ ~~79~~ ~~80~~ ~~81~~ ~~82~~ ~~83~~ ~~84~~ ~~85~~ ~~86~~ ~~87~~ ~~88~~ ~~89~~ ~~90~~ ~~91~~ ~~92~~ ~~93~~ ~~94~~ ~~95~~ ~~96~~ ~~97~~ ~~98~~ ~~99~~ ~~100~~ ~~101~~ ~~102~~ ~~103~~ ~~104~~ ~~105~~ ~~106~~ ~~107~~ ~~108~~ ~~109~~ ~~110~~ ~~111~~ ~~112~~ ~~113~~ ~~114~~ ~~115~~ ~~116~~ ~~117~~ ~~118~~ ~~119~~ ~~120~~ ~~121~~ ~~122~~ ~~123~~ ~~124~~ ~~125~~ ~~126~~ ~~127~~ ~~128~~ ~~129~~ ~~130~~ ~~131~~ ~~132~~ ~~133~~ ~~134~~ ~~135~~ ~~136~~ ~~137~~ ~~138~~ ~~139~~ ~~140~~ ~~141~~ ~~142~~ ~~143~~ ~~144~~ ~~145~~ ~~146~~ ~~147~~ ~~148~~ ~~149~~ ~~150~~ ~~151~~ ~~152~~ ~~153~~ ~~154~~ ~~155~~ ~~156~~ ~~157~~ ~~158~~ ~~159~~ ~~160~~ ~~161~~ ~~162~~ ~~163~~ ~~164~~ ~~165~~ ~~166~~ ~~167~~ ~~168~~ ~~169~~ ~~170~~ ~~171~~ ~~172~~ 173 ~~174~~ ~~175~~ ~~176~~ ~~177~~ ~~178~~ ~~179~~ 181. ~~182~~ ~~183~~ ~~184~~ ~~185~~ ~~186~~ ~~187~~ ~~188~~ ~~189~~

× "French in India".

* Java 2.

Unnumbered.

ϕ ~~1. "Instructions in the voyage of the 4 ships. Hector, New Years Gift - 1613.~~

ms 2. Packet of papers - apparently copies - of Firmâns &c &c. pc marked "Masulipatam and Petapolee. Temporary Cowl."

3. Sundry bundles endorsed by Sir E. Birdwood:-

3a "1817 - Rough memos - Posts of Registers of Ind. Records historiographer abolished."

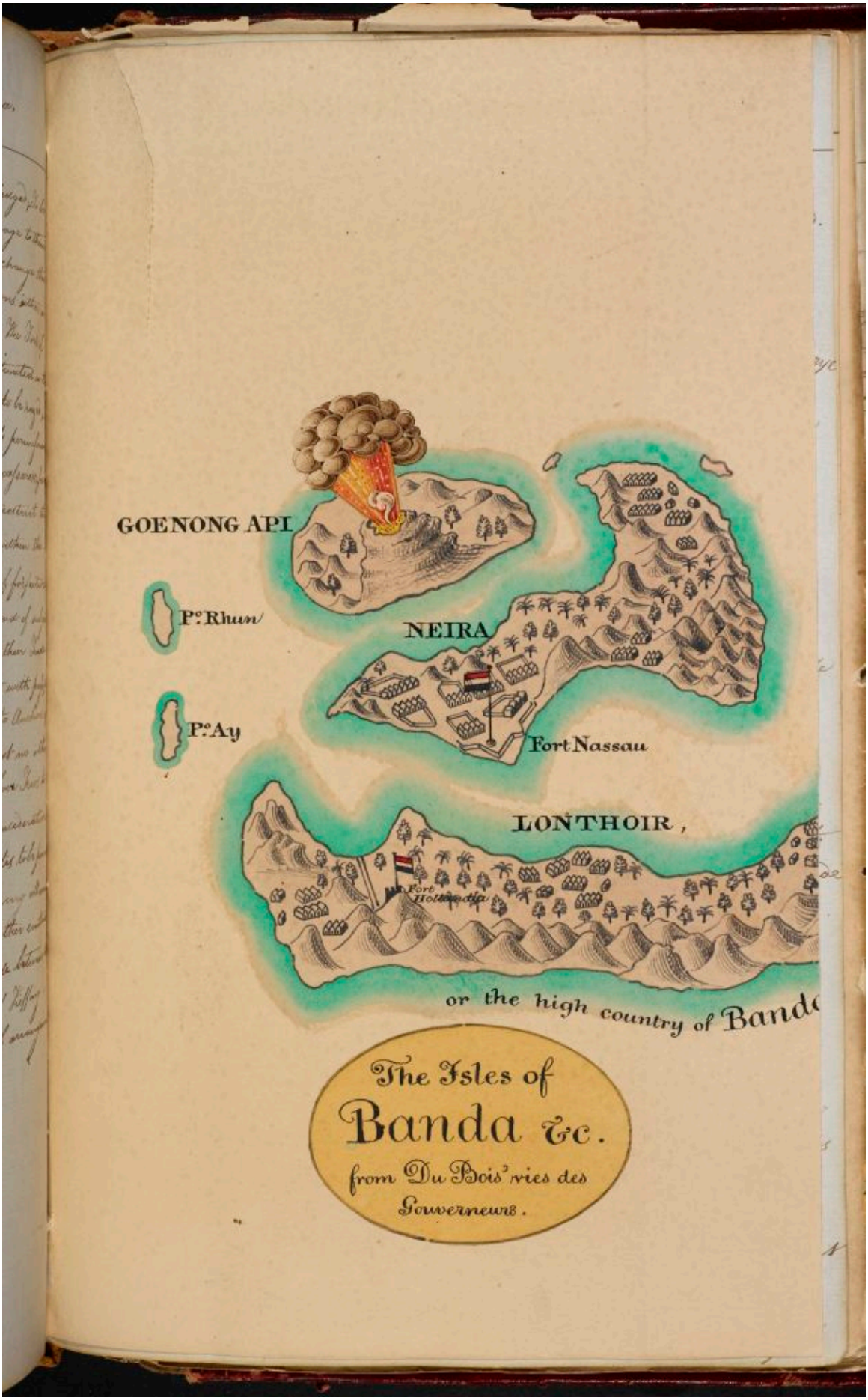
3b "1671-81. Malabar. Sevajee. Abstracts(?) or Extracts(?) from O.C."

3c " 1667-1702 Malabar. — — — — — — — — — — — — Courts Letter Book".

3d " 1666-71. — — — — — — — — — — — —

Fig. 22: IOR G/21/1, fol. 151^{r}, fold-out leaf, full page view (overleaf).

'A Statement of the States and Princes in the Eastern Seas with whom the Dutch appear at any time to have had connection; showing the nature and extent of that Connection, Compiled chiefly from two Volumes of Copies and Abstracts of Treaties, bearing dates from the Year 1596 to 1795, which were extracted from the Dutch Records at Batavia by a Committee specially appointed by the late British Government for that purpose, & transmitted by the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors, in 1818*; together with such collateral information as has been collected from the earlier Records of the East India Company or from other Authorities'


GOENONG API
P.e Rhun
P.e Ay
NEIRA
Fort Nassau
LONTHOIR,
Fort Hollandia
or the high country of Bando
The Isles of
Banda &c.
from Du Bois' vies des
Gouverneurs.

APPENDIX D

IOR L/R/4/29

Clements R. Markham, 'Memorandum of Proposals for the Organisation and Conduct of the Statistical Work of the India Office. For the Special Committee on Statistics' (1875)

Memorandum of Proposals for the Organization and Conduct of the Statistical Work of the India Office.

For the Special Committee on Statistics.

Preliminary Note.

The matters for consideration by the Special Committee on Statistics will, no doubt, have occupied the thoughts of its members during the months which have elapsed since it was constituted; and it will doubtless appear to them that sufficient time has elapsed for the various subjects to be treated comprehensively, and for a report to be discussed and agreed upon which shall cover the whole ground. As one of the members, I venture to submit a memorandum, containing proposals with a view to its being considered, and, if approved, to its being adopted by the Committee and embodied in a Report. If the views and proposals here submitted do not meet with full concurrence, I would urge, at all events, that whatever is decided upon should be equally broad and comprehensive.

Clements R. Markham.

Analysis of the Paragraphs.

I. Classification of materials. Paras. 3 to 29.
II. Investigation of statistics. Paras. 30 to 39.
III. Assistance in the collection of statistics. Paras. 40 to 53.
IV. Supply of statistical information. Paras. 54 to 62.
Summary of proposals. Para. 63.

Memorandum of Proposals for the Organization and Conduct of the Statistical Work of the India Office.

1. The statistical work of the India Office is grouped under four heads, and the aim should now be to establish an efficient and harmonious system by which all existing information may be readily available, the methods of bringing it together may be watched and amended, and final results may be eventually reached.

2. The four divisions of Indian statistical work are, first, the arrangement and classification of the already accumulated and annually arriving material; second, the investigation and inter-comparison of data, with a view to reaching definite conclusions; third, the supply of suggestions and assistance in the collection of statistical data in India; and fourth, the preparation of accurate and well-digested information for official use, and for the Parliament and the people of this country.

I.

3. Of these divisions the first is at present incomparably the most important, not only because upon it all the others depend, but also because, owing to the state of chaotic confusion in which the records of the India Office still remain, it most urgently requires attention. The mere alphabetical or chronological lists which now exist are not classification; but classification is the beginning of all accurate inquiry, and until the materials for investigation have been not merely arranged, but classified on correct principles, no advance can be made. Correct principles of classification are not of so much consequence in published reports, which are provided with copious tables of contents and indices, and they may be deviated from for special reasons, having reference to the objects of a report or other publication. But in the treatment of materials in large masses, and in their investigation, a natural and correct system is essential. Without it there must be waste of time, mistakes, and confusion. With it every subject, and every sub-division of a subject, fall naturally into their places, and progress is steadily made.

4. The very first step is therefore to decide upon the system of classification of subjects dealt with in India which shall be most natural, and shall approach most nearly to scientific accuracy. When this is done, when every subject is in its place, the statistical work can make progress at all points, and every portion of work done will have its place in relation to the whole system, and will be a step in advance. No good work will be wasted. The vast amount of labour that has been and is being thrown away, owing entirely to the absence of a correct system of classification, it is lamentable to think of.

5. A scientific system must be based on two canons:—

I. The subjects must be so grouped as that those which form units or bases on which others depend are placed and considered before those which are composed of such units, or depend on such bases. In other words, primary subjects must precede those which are secondary.

II. Those subjects must be included in each group which have more characteristics in common with one another than any of them have in common with any other subjects excluded from the group.

6. In the classification of statistical data for the purposes of the India Office, a third canon should be added. Those purposes are Imperial, not local, and every subject should be considered with reference to all India, and not to separate provinces. With the exception of arrangement with reference to time, local classification should therefore be the final sub-division.

7. The three bases of all statistics are space, number, and time. Space is the abstract of all relations of co-existence; number, of all relations of comparison; time, of all relations of sequence. In correct classification, the Surveys and the Census Returns must come first, and remain separate as the bases of all other investigations. Other subjects are grouped under Production and Distribution, embracing economic statistics; the Condition of the People, Instruction, and Protection, embracing social statistics; and Administration.

I. The bases of Statistics:
1. Surveys.
2. Census Returns.
3. Time.

II. Economic Statistics:
1. Production.
2. Distribution.

III. Social Statistics:
1. Condition of the People.
2. Instruction.
3. Protection.

IV. Administrative Statistics.

8. The Surveys are divided into nine sections. 1st, the Great Trigonometrical Survey which forms the foundation of the fabric; 2nd, the Topographical Surveys upon which many statistical inquiries are based; 3rd, the Revenue Surveys, which are the sole means of obtaining agricultural statistics; 4th, the Geological Survey upon which rest all inquiries respecting mines and minerals, and many connected with agriculture; 5th, Marine Surveys upon which an important branch of the statistics of distribution depends; 6th, Meteorology, closely connected with agriculture on the one hand, and with navigation on the other; 7th, Observations and Instruments; 8th, the Archæological Survey; and 9th, the utilization of the results of the Surveys, upon which the cartographic illustration as well as the accurate comprehension of every branch of statistics rest.

9. The Census Returns for 1873 from some provinces have recently been prepared, and, so far as they go, they already form a basis for statistical reasoning over a limited area. But no considerable advance can be made until they cover the whole of India, and until the Census is taken simultaneously over the whole country. Much valuable work may be done here in preparing for this most important measure. Until it has been effected, statistical investigations will be wanting in one essential which is indispensable.

10. Time is the third basis of statistical reasoning, and in conducting inquiries the numerical values of variables should be presented under as large a number of years as is possible.

11. The statistics of production follow the three bases naturally, and are themselves primary units with reference to the statistics of distribution, which follow them as secondary. They comprise four natural divisions,—agriculture, including forests and fisheries, irrigation, mines and manufactures, and revenue.

12. It is, however, a matter for consideration whether revenue should be placed in this group. It is argued, with much force, that the department treating of the collection of revenue should be kept apart from that which deals with products, because their interests are opposed. It is also argued, with no force at all, that revenue questions are legal, and should be in the Judicial Department. But it is unnecessary to discuss either of these propositions, because this is not a question of departmental administration. The aim is to classify subjects in groups which will be most convenient for statistical inquiries. From this point of view, as regards India, revenue naturally takes its place beside the other divisions of the statistics of production. The revenue surveys are the only means of obtaining agricultural statistics, and the revenues derived from opium, salt, and abkari (to some extent) depend upon productive industries of a special kind.

13. The statistics of distribution are secondary to those of production, and naturally follow them. They also form four divisions, namely, communications, fairs and markets, trade (currency, weights and measures), and finance. Communications embrace railroads, roads, inland navigation, routes beyond the

frontiers, sea routes, telegraphs, and post office. The trade division includes descriptions of markets and fairs, details of sea-borne and trans-frontier trade, as well as of inland trade.

14. As regards finance the same question may be raised, as to grouping such a subject with statistics of distribution, as in the case of classing revenue with statistics of production, and here again is a question, not of departmental arrangement, but of convenience in conducting statistical inquiries. As a department, that of Finance is the most important of all, and must stand by itself; but in the classification of subjects for statistical purposes, questions of tariffs and of expenditure, including the public works, military, and forest budgets, find their natural place under the group treating of statistics of distribution.

15. This completes the classification of statistics dealing with economic science, under the two heads of production and distribution. The statistics of social science, resting on the same bases of space, number, and time, are parallel, the subjects often being closely allied, as, for example, prices and wages. Social statistics form three groups, namely, those of life, of protection, and of instruction.

16. The statistics of life include registration, wages, sanitation, which embraces all subjects relating to disease and its amelioration, and emigration.

17. The statistics of protection embrace civil and criminal justice, jails, and police; and those of instruction are divided under the four heads of schools and colleges, missionary work, literature, and science and art.

18. The final division is more conveniently placed apart, but in juxta-position to the subjects embraced in social science. It includes the machinery of administration, municipalities, military subjects, and political and treaty relations with Native States in and beyond India.

19. I. The bases or units of statistics: 1, Surveys; 2, Census; 3, Time:—

II. Economic statistics:

1. Production,—

Agriculture	1
Irrigation	2
Mines and manufactures	3
Revenue	4

2. Distribution,—

Communications	5
Markets and fairs	6
Trade	7
Finance	8

III. Social statistics:

1. Life,—

Vital statistics	9
Wages	10
Sanitation	11
Emigration	12

2. Instruction,—

Schools and colleges	13
Missionary work	14
Literature	15
Science and art	16

3. Protection,—

Police	17
Jails	18
Civil justice	19
Criminal justice	20

IV. Administration:

Administration	21
Municipalitles	22
Military	23
Political	24

20. Legislation should be arranged under the various subdivisions, because the knowledge which is needed is the state of the law and the history of legislation as regards each subject. For the same reason public works come partly under the statistics of production, as irrigation; partly under those of distribution, as communications; partly under the military head, as barracks and fortifications; partly under instruction, protection, sanitation, and administration, as civil buildings; while public works expenditure comes under finance.

21. Having decided upon the general divisions for each group, the next step will be to arrange the various subdivision; and lastly each subdivision will be further divided with reference to locality, and finally according to the years.

22. I. *Agriculture.*

a. Food grains.—Yield per acre.
Area of each kind.
Quantity of seed for each crop.
Prices.
System of tillage.
} For each province and district, and over a series of years, with population.

b. Food pulses.—The same data.
c. Curry ingredients, vegetables, and fruits.—Ditto.
d. Cocoa nut.—Ditto.
e. Date palm.—Ditto.
f. Pepper.—Ditto.
g. Cardamom.—Ditto.
h. Betel.—Ditto.
i. Tobacco.—Ditto.
j. Other food cultivation.—Ditto.
k. Oil seeds.—Ditto.
l. Cotton.—Ditto. Also history of experiments.
m. Sugar.—Ditto.
n. Indigo.—Ditto.
o. Fibrous plants and silk.—Ditto.
p. Opium.—Ditto.
q. Hill products.—Cultivated: Tea.
Coffee.
Chinchona.
Wild: India-rubber.
Wax, Lac, &c.

r. Forests.—Reserved forests.
Unreserved ,,
Plantations ,,
Jungle cultivation.
} Each province, with statistics of population, area, manufactures, public works, and other sources of demand.
Teak.
Sal.
Pines.
Sandal.
Other trees.
Survey and demarcation.
Management.
Establishment.
Legislation.

s. Experimental farms and Government gardens.—Implements.
t. Horses. Fairs. Shows.
u. Cattle and sheep.
v. Elephants. Camels.
w. Fisheries.—Pearl Fishery.
Sea Fishery.
Inland Fisheries.
x. Takavi.
y. Agricultural legislation.
z. Societies.
aa. Famines.—Meteorology.

II. *Irrigation.*

a. Zones of rainfall.—Meteorology.
b. Systems of raising water.
c. Systems of measuring water.
d. Effects on crops.
e. Well irrigation.
f. Tank irrigation.—Native methods of construction.
Percentage of water taken in each river basin.
Area irrigated in each river basin.
Systems of maintenance.
} For each province and districts, and over a series of years, with population.
g. Inundation canals.—Same data.
f. Permanent canals.—Original schemes. Remodelling. Cost. Return.
g. Delta irrigation.—Ditto, ditto, ditto.
h. Legislation.

III. *Mines and Manufactures.*

a. Coal mines.—Areas.
History.
Out-turn.
Working.
b. Lime. Kunkur.
c. Iron; working.
d. Other metals.
e. Salt.
f. Cotton manufacture.
g. Silk ditto.
h. Woollen ditto.
i. Leather ditto.
j. Pottery ditto.
l. Metals.
&c. &c.

IV. *Revenue.*

a. History before this century.
b. Permanent Settlements.—Bengal and Bahar. Northern Circars. Discussions.
c. Periodical Settlements.—Various tenures.
History of each Settlement.
System of survey.
System of classing.
System of assessing.
Special cesses.
} For each province, and for every district, over a series of years.
d. Payment of officials.
e. Establishments.
f. Means and systems of collecting data.
g. Extent of alienated land for each district. Enam Commissions.
h. Systems in Native States.
i. Waste Lands Rules.
j. Revenue legislation.
k. Salt tax.—History, for each province.
l. Opium.
m. Abkari.
n. Stamps.
o. Local cesses on land.

V. *Communications.*

a. Railways.—History.
Administration.
Special works (engineering).
Traffic.
Cost of working.
Plant.
b. Roads.—History.
Special works.
Bungalows. Choultries.
} For each province.

c. River and canal navigation.
d. Trade routes.—Beyond the frontier by land.
List and account of all passes.
Traffic, former and recent.
e. Sea routes.—Harbour and coast works. } Surveys, selection of sites for
Docks. } lights, wrecks, and casualties
Lighthouses and vessels. } belong to Marine Surveys.
f. Electric Telegraph.
g. Post Office.
h. Traffic and postal legislation.

VI. *Fairs and Markets.*

a. Inland Fairs.—Occasion. }
Traffic. }
Concourse. }
b. Frontier fairs. } For each province.
c. Nuclei of trade. }
d. Markets. }
e. Exhibitions. }
f. Legislation and rules. }

VII. *Trade.*

a[1]. Sea-borne trade. { Returns, for as far back as there is a record. Imports.
Exports. Shipping.
b. Coasting trade.—Ditto, ditto. Native shipping.
c. Internal trade.—Returns of river traffic.
„ railway „
„ boat „
„ road „
d[1]. External trade.—Povindah.
Turkistan.
Tibetan.
Burmese.
d[2]. Special commercial relations with China.—History.
Persian Gulf.—Ditto.
Islands.—Ditto.
East coast of Africa.—Ditto.
Arabia.—Ditto.
e. Exchanges.—Balance of trade.
ee. Weights and measures.—History.
f. Factories.—History.
g. Native States.—Trade relations and treaties.
h. Commercial Legislation.—Effects on trade.
Customs duties.
i. Companies. Banks. Houses of business.

VIII. *Finance.*

a. General Statements.—As far back as there is a record.
b. Military Budgets.
c. Public Works ditto.
d. Forest ditto.
e. Civil ditto.
f. Home Expenditure.
g[1]. Debt.—Loans.
g[2]. Financial Accounts.—Public Works Accounts.
h. Currency.—History.
i. Precious metals.
j. Paper currency.
k. Banks.
l. Local taxation. } For each province.
m. Customs duties. }

IX. *Vital Statistics.*

a. History of former measures.
b. Registration.

X. *Wages.*

a. Agriculturists.
b. Skilled labour.
c. Official.
d. Wages and prices.

} Each province and district, and over as long a period as there is any record.

XI. *Sanitation.*

a^1. Hospitals. Dispensaries. Native doctors. Native medica.
a^2. Fevers.—Causes.
History of special outbreaks.
Special forms.
Measures for alleviation.
b. Dysentery.—Similar data.
c. Small-pox.—Vaccination.
d. Cholera.—Movement. Spread and area each year.
e. Leprosy.
f. Other diseases.
g. Effects of canals.
h. Health Reports.
i. Water supply.
j. Drainage.
k. Legislation.

XII. *Emigration.*

a. Internal.—Cooly emigration to Assam and Tea districts.
Tamil emigration to Ceylon.
Labour supply in Wynaad.
Emigrants to Burmah.
b. Immigrants.—Arabs. History.
Afghans.
Bilochis.
English. Interlopers. Vagrants.
Legislation.
c. External.—Emigration.
Legislation.
Regulations for each country.
Numbers, and numbers retiring.

XIII. *Schools and Colleges.*

a. Early history.
b. Despatch of 1854.
c. Primary education.—For each province.
d. Middle Schools.—Ditto.
e. High Schools.
f. Colleges.
g. Universities.
h. Special institutions.
i^1. Normal Schools.
i^2. Eurasian Schools.
j. Female Schools.
k. Legislation.
l. Buildings.

XIV. *Missionary Work.*

a. History.
b. Conferences.
c. Schools.
d. Converts.
e. Literature.

XV. *Literature.*

a. Publications.—Vernacular texts. } Each province.
Translations. }
b. Societies.—Translations.
c. Periodicals.

XVI. *Science and Art.*

a. Schools of Art.
b. Museums.
c. Exhibitions.

XVII. *Police.*

a. Establishments.
b. Crime.
c. Infanticide. Thief castes, and other special forms of crime.
d. Wild tribes.
e. Legislation.

XVIII. *Jails.*

a. Systems.
b. Buildings.
c. Industry.
d. Inmates.—Number. Health. Employment.
e. Penal Settlements.

XIX. *Civil Suits.*

a. History of Courts.
b. Returns.
c. Litigation.
d. Buildings.
e. Legislation.
f. Registration.

XX. *Criminal Justice.*

a. History.
b. Code.
c. Returns.
d. Legislation.

XXI. *Administraton.*

a. History.—Record of successive changes in Councils, subordinate jurisdictions, and administrative boundaries.
b. Legislation, with reference to general administration and all that does not come under other heads.
c. Personal cases.
d. Buildings.

XXII. *Municipalities.*

a. Legislation.
b. Working.
c. Elections.
d. Presidency towns.—Regulations.
Water supply.
Drainage.
Finance.
Buildings.

XXIII. *Military.*

a. History.—Native armies.
European troops.
b. Returns.—Numbers and distribution, as far back as there are records, with deaths and invaliding.
c. Legislation.
d[1]. Barracks.
d[2]. Health.
e. Fortifications.
f. Transports.
g. Ships of war.

XXIV. *Political.*

a. Treaties.
b. Native States.—Treaty relations, and history of each.
c. Frontier States.—Ditto.
d. Genealogy of reigning houses.
e. „ „ pensioned houses.

23. If all the materials in the India Office were arranged and classified under these groups, divisions, and sub-divisions, and finally according to localities and years, it is obvious that the complete history of any or every measure and every subject that may come under consideration could be furnished in ten minutes. At present these materials are in the state which printers call "pie."

24. The whole of the India Office records, printed and in manuscript, should be classified and arranged on the above system, including all the Consultations which fill the cellars, all the Proceedings of Governments, all Despatches and Collections from India in every Department, all Reports, Selections from Records, contents of Gazettes and Supplements, and published books or articles bearing on the above subjects. Frequently a great number of different subjects are jumbled into one Despatch or set of Collections: and many subjects are dealt with in Departments with which they have no conceivable connexion. These must all be hunted out, and correctly classified under their respective groups and divisions. The period covered will be a hundred years for the leading subjects, and two or three hundred years for a few, such as trade, military operations, and marine surveys. It is of the greatest consequence to carry back every question as far as records are available; for inter-comparison is the main function of statistics, and, as regards some of the most important, such as the phenomena of prices, they must be considered with reference to a large number of years.

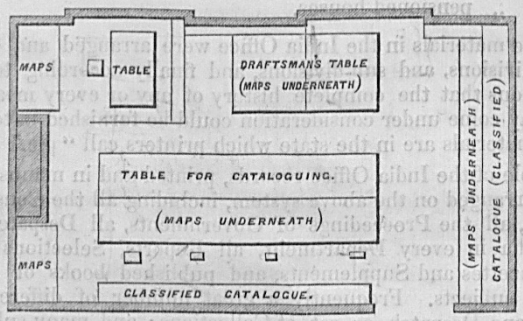
25. It remains to decide upon the machinery by which this classification of materials may best be effected.

26. It is proposed to attain the end in view by entries in a series of books prepared for the purpose. The series would be in the four grand divisions of the bases of statistics,—economic, social, and administrative statistics,—with the respective ten, eight, twelve, and four sub-divisions. Each of these would be further divided on the proposed system, and then according to locality and time, when necessary. Some subjects will occupy several volumes, others one, and others only part of one volume. The headings would be the grand division, group, division, sub-division, province, and year, under which there would be four columns: for the press mark or store number, the document or paragraph or article, the date, and a sufficiently copious account of the nature and character of the contents of each. For example:—

Grand Division:	Economic Statistics.
Group:	Production.
Division:	Agriculture.
Sub-division:	Food Grains.
Province:	Bengal.
Year or years:	

Press Work or Store Number.	Document.	Date or Number.	Contents.

Space will be required for this classified catalogue of the contents of the India Office, and, unfortunately, that edifice is calculated mainly for show, and is but ill adapted for work. It is proposed that the present binder's room be given up for the rest of the map collection, and for the classified catalogue. Two sides can be allotted for the latter, and a long table, under which will be drawers for



maps, while two sides and another long nest of drawers are required for the maps and draftsman.

27. The advantage of settling at once the details of classification is that, when this is done, work can be commenced at any point, and every bit of work will find its proper place. This is the more urgent, because great numbers of documents are of a miscellaneous character, and treat of several subjects, so that time will be saved by an arrangement which provides for their being sorted into their respective places. It is also indispensable that, as regards time, the work should be commenced at the end, and not at the beginning. The new system must become useful as soon as it is commenced, and this end can be secured by dealing first with the current year, and working backwards until the whole collection of documents in the Office is classified, not on a mere chronological plan like the Calendars of State Papers, but on scientific principles. Thus there will at length be the ready means of gaining a complete knowledge of the history of every measure and every subject relating to India, and, moreover, *desiderata* will be detected and supplied. For, as regards many important measures, the material for their accurate comprehension is not now in the India Office. The absence of these missing papers will appear by following the proposed system, while by any other they will not be known to be absent until too late, *i.e.*, until actually wanted.

28. It would be well if the selections from the records of the different Governments and the Supplements to the Calcutta Gazettes were taken in hand at once, and arranged in a classified catalogue on the proposed system. This might be finished before Christmas, and would be at once useful. It would, while fitting into the general scheme, form a classified catalogue in itself that might be printed. Then the whole system might be commenced with the new year, and steadily proceeded with until completed.

29. The classified catalogue of the Indian Records is essential to statistical inquiries, and is the only means by which official work can be done with real efficiency and promptitude. It presents no difficulties, and when once done can easily be kept up to date. It will be invaluable to administrators, to investigators, and inquirers of every class, and to historians. It will, in fact, when completed, be a great national work, the value of which will be felt in every department.

II.

30. The second main division of Indian statistical work consists in the investigation and comparison of *data*, with a view to reaching definite conclusions.

31. The classification of materials, though an indispensable preliminary, is but the commencement of statistical inquiry. When this is done, and when accurate facts have been accumulated in sufficient number, but not until then, the laws which govern them can be studied, and conclusions can be derived from them. These laws were defined by Sir Stafford Northcote, in his address of 1869, as the

law of stability which teaches us to deduce from the observation of particular phenomena, general conclusions as to the regularity of their recurrence; and the law of variation, pointing out in what manner, and within what limits, the conditions of human life and the current of human action may be modified or controlled by man. Their scientific value is proved by the sensitiveness of statistical documents to the influence of real and unmistakeable causes which ought, *à priori*, to influence them. The eventual object of statistical investigation at the India Office must be to determine the natural and administrative units in economical statistics, and as regards social science. Real progress has already been made by English statisticians in such investigations. By a careful series of observations, extended over a sufficient period of time, and applied to classes of people sufficiently different in their occupations and modes of life, a result has been arrived at which expresses, with a high degree of accuracy, the annual death rate which ought to prevail in a community which avails itself diligently of the appliances for health which civilization and modern science have placed at our disposal. In the climate of England, it is 17 in 1,000 a year. This, therefore, is the ultimate unit of annual mortality. Progress has also been made in determining, from several countries, the figures which in each represent the average earnings of unskilled labour, and the kind of food and clothing which these earnings will produce. Statisticians, in Europe, are thus striving to be able to describe the economical condition of different parts of the world as precisely and specifically as geographers can describe their physical aspects.

32. This also must be our aim as regards India. When it is attained, the administrators of our Indian Empire, who can now only work upon theories, will then base their measures on scientifically ascertained facts. But the time for this is yet distant. We have no complete facts. They are wanting in every branch of investigation.

33. To begin with the Surveys, the basis of all statistics; they are still incomplete over a very wide area of British India. The maps of the Madras Presidency are based on surveys 60 years old, and are obsolete, while, though the new survey is making steady progress, scarcely anything has yet been published. The Bombay Presidency is for the most part unsurveyed and unmapped; so are the North-West Provinces, and a vast area of the Native States. An accurate map of India is also much needed for statistical purposes, on an adequate scale. Thus, for really accurate work, we as yet have no survey of all India, and no map.

34. The second basis of statistics is population, and here we are quite as much adrift. In 1871–72, a census was taken of the Lower Provinces, the North-West Provinces, the Central Provinces, Mysore and Coorg, Madras, and Bombay. But they are all first attempts, and, although admirable as such, especially that of Bengal, they cannot be expected to give absolute results. It may justly be said that they are first attempts, because the enumerations which preceded them were so obviously erroneous that they may be set aside as worthless. In the Punjab and Oudh we only have a mere guess at the population, based on enumerations made some years ago, and of the population of the Native States, except three or four, we are in complete ignorance. We are still in the dark, for all statistical purposes, as regards the population of India as a whole.

35. As regards time, we are uncertain how far we can trace back variable facts owing to the confused state of the records. As soon as the classified catalogue is completed, we shall know to what extent comparisons can be made in the various branches of statistical inquiry, but not until then.

36. Thus we are stopped at the outset by the incompleteness of the three bases, and steady efforts must be made to fix them securely and permanently, by the accumulation of facts, before the erection of any superstructure can usefully be attempted. Meanwhile, all the workmen should be employed on the collection and shaping of really good materials.

37. Agricultural statistics are almost wholly wanting, although the machinery for their collection exists, and indeed they are collected over a large part of India in a more or less accessible form. Reforms which would lead to a satisfactory system might be introduced with little difficulty as regards this branch, while the adoption of Dr. Forbes Watson's scheme for an Industrial Survey will eventually

supply full and reliable information both as regards agricultural products and manufactures. The statistics of irrigation are also to a great extent beyond our reach, Official correspondence on the subject principally relates to the great and "showy" works, and even their history is incomplete as regards this office. For instance, the original estimate and reports for the Bari Doab Canal are not here. There is a good deal of information respecting irrigation works in the Selections and in the Professional Papers of Rurki College; but these also mainly relate to the great works recently undertaken. We need much more for a thorough statistical inquiry; as to the area commanded by the thousands of tanks, the extent to which the drainage of each river basin is made use of, the amount of waste, the effects on agriculture, and, above all, the ruin that is being caused in Sind and elsewhere by short-sighted economy. These things are not understood, from want of information; and here, again, the first step must be the classification of existing materials. When this is done, it will at once be seen how much is wanted, and the desiderata can soon be supplied. Much information is also needed respecting trade routes, markets, internal traffic, and certain branches of interportal trade.

38. If we are thus checked by the absence of classification and of materials on the threshold of inquiries connected with economic service, the state of things is even worse as regards social statistics. The registration of vital statistics is still a mere farce where it exists at all, and the sanitary information in some of the provincial reports is avowedly worthless. Statistics of protection are sufficiently copious certainly, but they are of no relative use,—of no use in the conduct of comparative investigations, until the units on which they are based have been determined. The same want exists as regards educational statistics, while the details of missionary enterprise, and especially the diffusion of missionary literature, are not available from official sources.

39. The discussion of the best means of following in the footsteps of the statisticians of Europe, with a view of reaching definite conclusions, has thus resolved itself into an enumeration of our deficiencies. In truth, we are unable to commence the utilization of our materials because they are not yet classified, and because they are incomplete. It is important that this should be clearly understood, for to know and feel it is half the battle. For the present, the main efforts must be devoted to the classification of all the materials now in the India Office, and to providing assistance and advice in the work of collecting accurate and reliable facts in India, and of preparing and arranging them.

III.

40. The third main division of Indian statistical work consists in the supply of suggestions and assistance in the collection and first arrangement of statistics in India.

41. In this branch much help can be supplied from the India Office, both by suggesting improvements and additions in details, and by keeping those who are engaged in the work of collecting and arranging fully acquainted with all that has been and is being done, in their respective branches, in other parts of the world. Nothing can be more important than such comparisons of methods and of results.

42. The formation of the Geographical Department of the India Office has supplied the necessary machinery for such work, as regards the principal basis of statistics. The officers in charge of the surveys thus constantly keep up an interchange of views and ideas with the India Office, while the Department supplies them with information, and especially with maps and geographical documents prepared in other countries, for purposes of comparison. The same arrangement should exist as regards every other statistical group. In the case of surveys and cartographic illustration, although a vast amount of work is before us, a good system is established, and steady progress is being made in the right direction. The engraving of the Indian Atlas, upon the completion of which so much depends, is advancing rapidly. Every year fresh improvements are intro-

duced with a view to the more rapid supply of accurate topographical information. Progress is being made in the introduction of a cadastral survey on correct principles throughout India. Meteorology, by dint of repeated reminders, is now likely to be placed on a satisfactory footing. Through the same means, the Department of Marine Surveys has been created, and long neglected work of the first importance will be recommenced, while all questions of surveys, of the proper sites for light-houses, and of wrecks and casualties at sea, will be dealt with by those who are qualified to advise upon them by previous training. As regards departmental work, a classified catalogue has been completed, so that there is full knowledge of all geographical documents and records in the India Office, and the system of memoir and annual abstracts has been in force for the last four years. Thus the chief basis of statistics, though very incomplete as regards work in the field, is now arranged and organized on a workmanlike system.

43. As regards the second basis, that of population, this is not yet the case. Attention should at once be given to the preparations for a general census of all India in 1883. This will be a most important, and at the same time a very difficult operation, requiring much previous consideration. For in the next census the whole of India ought to be included in a simultaneous enumeration, without omitting any of the Native States. All statistical results will be merely provisional until this is done, for the element of numbers is one of the units on which they are based. This is the case in economic questions, and still more so in those embraced by social science. Census returns, on a uniform plan, and with the means of comparison, present most precise notions of the physical and moral condition of a people. But their analysis, and the work of drawing from that analysis just and scientific conclusions, is a task calling for the exercise of much acuteness and discrimination in appreciating the influence which the relative proportions between the classes, as to age and condition, bear on national character and habits, and in weighing the probable influence on that character and those habits which is involved in an observed change in the proportions. As regards the returns of 1871–72, nothing of this kind can be done, because all previous enumerations were practically worthless. In the next census there will, for the first time, be the means of comparison over a great part of India. The interval may be most usefully employed in the collection and supply of all the information and all the experience acquired in Europe and America bearing on the subject, and in assisting in the elaboration of a carefully thought out and comprehensive scheme.

44. The collection of agricultural statistics is receiving attention. Definite proposals have been made to effect the desired object in the North-West Provinces through the agency of *patwaris*, and the attention of the Government of India has been drawn to these proposals. The same agency may be used in the Punjab. Sir George Campbell, as a beginning, introduced a plan in Bengal of obtaining complete returns from certain selected districts. In the Bombay Presidency the admirable system of revenue returns provides for the registration, by a competent agency, of the agricultural statistics of each village. In Madras, Colonel Priestley proposed to do the same work through the agency of the survey, but the Board of Revenue declined this offer. It is, therefore, to be presumed that they provided for the collection of the statistics in some other way. A plan might now be usefully suggested from the India Office, by which the abundant materials for agricultural statistics thus collected in Bombay and Madras might be brought together, and digested into forms available for general use. In the same way the history and progress of the cultivation of hill products, with the Proceedings of Planters' Associations, ought to be gathered together and regularly received at the India Office.

45. Irrigation statistics need special attention here, and the proposal submitted by Mr. Jackson, or something analogous to it, should lead to the eventual supply of information on this important subject, so classified and selected as to be useful in statistical investigation. As regards the forests, the Departments in India and in this Office are in the constant habit of interchanging suggestions, and have always worked harmoniously together. The most important work before the Forest Department is survey, demarcation, and the collection of statistics. It is scarcely commenced, and in its progress the India Office will be able to furnish assistance and information of various kinds.

46. The Department of Commerce will very usefully aid, with suggestions and criticisms, in the improvement of trade returns prepared in India, and in the introduction of an efficient system for the collection of information respecting markets, trade routes, and internal traffic.

47. Instructions for some obvious improvements, which were suggested by Mr. Prinsep more than a year ago, were embodied in a Despatch to India in December 1872. The first of these is that the Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation for the whole of India should not be compiled from the necessarily incomplete monthly returns from the different Presidencies, and other local Governments, but from the corrected annual returns. The second is that, in the Madras returns, the details should be given for each port, instead of, as now, for each collectorate, and that the grain trade of the Orissa ports should be given separately from that of Chittagong. The third is, that the denominations of various kinds of cotton piece goods should be revised, and that each should have the value attached to it. The fourth relates to a revision of the list of countries the trade with which is shown in the returns. Similar suggestions should also be made with reference to the collection of information respecting the fairs and markets, the trade of the hundreds of minor ports and of those in the Native States, the registration of internal traffic, and of that over all the different passes leading into the countries beyond the Sulaiman and Himalaya mountains. Some plan should also be thought out, in the Commerce Department, for a more detailed classification of the shipping returns. This would be particularly valuable and suggestive, as showing the amount and kind of intercourse which the various littoral districts of India have with each other, and with neighbouring or distant countries. There should be returns showing the various ports where the native craft of different rigs are built, the ports between which they run, the number belonging to each port, with measurements, and the traffic. We ought to know exactly what effect the British India Steam Navigation Company has had on the trade of native craft, to what extent it has destroyed it, and to what extent it has diverted it into different channels.

48. It would be useful also if the Department of Commerce examined all the official trade returns prepared by the different countries of Europe and America, and compared their various systems. Many hints and suggestions would be obtained by such comparisons; which would be serviceable in the consideration of improvements, in collecting and manipulating Indian commercial statistics.

49. Similar work, as regards assistance and suggestions, may be performed in the India Office, to great advantage as regards social and administrative statistics, especially with reference to measures for the prevention of disease, for the collection of accurate emigration statistics, for the supply of fuller information respecting the progress and spread of literature, and to other subjects.

50. The annual Administration Reports of the different local Governments are now prepared on a uniform plan, which is adapted for the object for which it is intended. It is not a strictly natural plan, and is not suitable for purposes of close methodical reasoning, such as will be provided for by the classified catalogue of the India Office. But it is a system which serves its actual purpose, and the great point is to have secured uniformity. Some minor alterations, are, however, necessary. For instance, in the Madras Report the number of vessels passing through the Paumben Channel is placed under the heading "Protection." This arises from the sub-division "Marine" having been placed under "Protection," because ships of war afford protection to harbours and merchant vessels; but the dhonies using the Paumben Pass are not ships of war, nor, if they were, is warlike protection the subject contemplated. "Marine" is a word embracing several distinct subjects. Returns of shipping come under Trade, their accommodation under Communications; transports and armed ships under Military; surveys, the selection of sites for lights, pilotage, wrecks and other casualties under Marine Surveys. Some other minor alterations are desirable; but, with a table of contents, the present plan of arrangement answers its purpose.

51. The Administration Reports are not materials to be used in conducting the statistical work of the India Office, because they are compiled from various other reports which are also accessible, and they are therefore not original.

52. But they are extremely valuable as summaries or brief précis of the year's administrative work in the different provinces, for perusal by officials here and in India, and as books of reference. The Bengal Administration Reports for the last two years, containing a mass of historical and contemporaneous information in every department, admirably digested and arranged, form excellent models of what these reports should be. The others improve every year, although there is still room for improvement. In furthering this, much useful aid may be furnished by the India Office, in the form of remarks and suggestions every year.

53. As soon as all the Administration Reports have been received, they, together with the statistical tables, should be compared with those of the previous year, and with each other. It will then be found that, in some, particular subjects are treated fully, which in others are barely touched upon, and in others are omitted altogether. These differences and omissions should all be noted and reported, and a complete comparative statement should be drawn up. Then the various suggestions for improvements in the different reports should be considered, and an annual despatch on the subject should be prepared.

IV.

54. The preparation of information for official use, and for the Parliament and the people of this country, is the fourth division of the statistical work of the India Office.

55. For official use the catalogue of records systematically classified will be the most valuable result of statistical work. There will no longer be any necessity for searches. A complete list of all the information that exists in the India Office on any question that may arise, and on any subject that may be receiving attention will at once be available. As illustrative of the records for official use, and also for general information, a series of memoirs should also be prepared, embodying a general view of each division in the classified arrangement. Care must be bestowed on the literary treatment of these memoirs, and close attention must be given to the necessary research. If they are well done they will be amply self-supporting. This has been shown in the case of the first edition of the Memoir on the Surveys; 750 copies were printed, and 700 have been disposed of, while the work has already been translated into Dutch. But the surveys include somewhat special and rather abstruse subjects, and the number of persons who are interested in them is necessarily limited. This would not be the case with the memoirs treating of more popular subjects, for which there would certainly be a much larger demand. Their official uses are obvious. By their means every officer connected with Indian administration would have for reference a condensed narrative of the previous history of each measure or transaction that came up for consideration, with such copious references as would enable the inquirer to obtain a more thorough and complete knowledge of any given branch of a subject with ready facility. The memoirs will be guides constantly needed, and which do not now exist.

56. The proposed memoirs would be twenty in number. (If undertaken by five persons, each doing one a year, they would be finished in four years, before which time the classified catalogue would also be completed.)

1. *Surveys* (2nd edition), which forms, with that on population, the basis of the others.
2. *Population.*—This memoir would have sections on the races, languages, and religions of India, and on castes: a comprehensive review of all attempts at enumeration and of census returns, and of the machinery for recording vital statistics.
3. *Agriculture.*—A review of the history of Indian agriculture, of all experiments, proceedings of Societies, Government gardens, and cattle shows. An account of the various food grains and pulses, and of all other crops grown in the plains except cotton. Also a history of the introduction of foreign products, and of fisheries. History of famines.

4. *Cotton.*—The literature of cotton cultivation and cotton experiments is most voluminous. To some extent it was condensed by Cassells, Wheeler, and Medlicott. It must now be further condensed into one volume, which still must be more complete than the old handbooks, and must be brought up to date.
5. *Hill products.*—A review of all the hill regions, their areas and populations, meteorology, and physical aspects, with a complete history of the cultivation of tea, coffee, chinchona, cardamoms, and other hill products.
6. *Forests.*—A condensed memoir containing all that is useful in the four large blue books, but beginning with an account of the zones of rainfall, of the effects of forests, and of forest clearances, and of the various valuable timber trees and other forest products in different parts of India. Then a history of the operations of the Departments.
7. *Irrigation.*—A sketch of the systems of irrigation in Italy, Spain, Persia and Syria, and Peru, with accounts of various systems of measuring and raising water. A view of the rainfall and other physical conditions of all the river basins of India. A history of the irrigation in each river basin. A review of the financial aspects of irrigation. Legislation.
8. *Land Revenue.*—The earliest systems. The old Hindu system. Muhammadan system. Permanent Settlements. The settlements in Orissa, North-West Provinces, Punjab, Oudh, Central Provinces, Bombay, Sindh, Mysore and Coorg, Madras, Malabar, and Burmah. Enam Commissions and rent free lands. Village communities. Estates of Wards. Waste Land Rules. Local taxation.
9. *Separate Revenue.*—A history of the salt tax, of the opium monopoly, of Abkari, and of all miscellaneous taxes existing or abolished, with their effects on trade and production. A history of tariffs, and of all discussions respecting customs duties, and opium. A historical account of weights and measures.
10. *Communications.*—A history of roads in India, of railways, of inland navigation, harbours, coast works, telegraphs, and post office.
11. *Manufactures*, and industrial arts; with an account of museums, of exhibitions, and the schools of art at Madras and elsewhere. Also a notice of what has been done by Dr. Royle, by Dr. Forbes Watson, by Dr. Birdwood in Bombay, by Dr. Hunter in Madras, and Mr. Baden Powell in the Punjab, and others.
12. *Commerce.*—A history of the commerce of India from the lists in Hakluyt's Divers Voyages, onwards, with notices of commercial agreements, and of the history of the East India Company factories. A sketch of the commercial policy and position of the Company at various stages, and of subsequent commercial policy. An account of the rise and progress of each branch of trade, and of the trade with various countries. Interportal and internal traffic. Trade routes beyond the frontier. Fairs. Modern houses of business and their transactions. Exchange. Balance of trade, and appendices giving comparisons of trade returns for a series of years.
13. *Finance.*—History. Revenue and expenditure in early times, at intervals during the time of the Company, and for every year since. History of the drain of silver, and of the currency. Paper currency. Banks. Sketch of the policy of Wilson, Laing, Trevelyan, Massey, and Temple. Financial aspects of expenditure on various departments. Loans. Debt. System of accounts.
14. *Condition of the People.*—Wages. Diet. Habits. Vital statistics. Communities. Brinjaris and wanderers. Crime. Emigration and immigration.
15. *Sanitation.*—Indian diseases. Fever, dysentery, cholera, small-pox, leprosy, snake bites. History of special outbreaks. Native materia medica, and practice. Hospitals, dispensaries. Measures of amelioration. Chinchona alkaloids. Vaccination. Ipecacuanha. Reports of Sanitary Commissions, &c.
16. *Education.*—Before 1854. The Despatch. Subsequent history of each class of schools and colleges. Missionary work. Review of all Education Reports.

17. *Literature.*—Sketch of Native literature in each language. History of publication of texts, and of translations. History of the press, English and Native, of learned Societies, and of Native Societies. Review of modern literature.

18. *Legislation.*—View of Hindu and Muhammadan law. Bibliography. English measures and codes. Sketch of Regulations and Acts, with a fuller review of the legislation of the last 20 years. Classified catalogue of Regulations and Acts.

19. *Military History*, mainly with reference to statistics of numbers, health, and death rate, gathered from special histories from Orme to Kaye. Sketch of the history of Native armies. Number and distribution of European troops at intervals of five years. View of changes in organization since 1857. Financial aspects. Barracks. Sanataria. Transport. Strategic aspects.

20. *Political History.*—Chapters on the Portuguese domination, and on the Dutch in India, with their botanical and geographical work. General sketch of Native States. Origin and history of each, with treaty relations. Treaties with Persia, and other countries beyond India. Treaty relations with French and Portuguese possessions.

57. Each memoir would be illustrated by maps, and by tables and diagrams when necessary. The maps for the Survey Memoirs are already arranged. A map showing the population cannot yet be undertaken, except in a very rough form, but ethnological and philological maps may usefully be attempted, with the aid of Mr. Thomas and others. In the same way every other memoir can have interesting and attractive cartographic illustration, and those on agriculture, communications, and commerce would also have illustrative diagrams. It must be allowed that the maps and diagrams, as well as the memoirs themselves, can only at present represent approximations, but we must make use of the materials we have, and introduce corrections and improvements in future editions.

58. The leading principle of the statistical work of the India Office ought to be that it should be made useful at once. The memoirs will all be uniform with the original Memoir on the Surveys, and with each other. But, while they are in progress, the ground to be covered by each of them, as regards the current years, must be provisionally occupied. This should be done by the preparation of annual abstracts uniform with the memoirs, and built on the same lines as the existing annual abstracts of the Surveys. The abstract would contain a connected narrative respecting the subject of the memoir to wnich it belongs for the year, with references to all books, selections, articles, despatches, proceedings, and other papers on the subject. There would thus be 20 abstracts published annually for official reference and for wide distribution, embracing every administrative subject connected with India. At intervals of five to ten years, as the memoirs were bought up and became out of print, there would be new editions embodying the information contained in the abstracts. The whole scheme, while of great official value, would, if managed with literary skill snd ability, be entirely self-supporting.

59. The memoirs and abstracts will furnish complete information on special subjects and branches of administration, for the departments and for the classes of people who are interested in each. But there is also needed a more general memoir, embracing all subjects, for those who take a general interest in the administrative progress of our Indian Empire. This want was foreseen, and was provided for in the Act of Parliament constituting the Secretary of State and Council. It enacted that there was to be an annual Report presented to Parliament on the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India. This was not to be a mere colourless official statement. The object of the introducer of the clause was, it is understood, the very reverse of this. It was that an interest might be aroused in Indian affairs by the annual presentation of a thoroughly readable document. A new series was commenced in 1873, and in its preparation this object was steadily kept in view. The arrangement is precisely on the principles laid down for the classified catalogue. The only deviation from it is that four administrative sections are put first, being considered necessary as introductory. Then follow the sections on economic and social subjects in proper

sequence, then those on military affairs and political relations, while the closing section, surveys and statistics, is intended as a peep into the laboratory and workshop.

60. The end and object, which is the production of an interest in Indian affairs, was gained. The Report was universally approved, and extensively read in this country and abroad. It is, therefore, proposed to continue the series on precisely the same lines. But a first attempt must always be defective, and it has consequently been decided to bring out the Report of 1874 as a second and improved edition of that of the previous year. The meeting of a new Parliament was another reason for this decision. But the general plan is to present reports merely covering the events of each year, on the same principle as the annual abstracts, and to bring out a new edition of the fuller Report of 1874, like the new editions of the memoirs, at the meeting of each new Parliament, or at the expiration of the term of office of a Governor General. Meanwhile progress will be made year by year in the improvement and extension of the cartographic illustration of the Report, which has been one great attraction, and which really forms a most important aid to the text.

61. We are indebted to Mr. Prinsep, who conducted the statistical work of the India Office during so many years, for the origination and annual improvement of the Statistical Abstract, consisting of a series of useful tables. A set of statistical tables also forms a part of the scheme for the new series of the Moral and Material Progress Report. It is now recommended that the former Statistical Abstract should be merged in the appendix to the Report. The presentation of two such series of tables with the same object is clearly superfluous, and it is desirable that members and others who are interested in Indian administration should receive the Report and the statistical tables in one volume, for they illustrate and explain each other. In selecting the subjects for the tables, those only should be chosen that are best adapted for tabular illustration. For general use it is also a great point to include as much as possible in one glance, and carefully to avoid any undue multiplication of tabular statements, especially on the same subject. The subjects selected for tabulation are, first, the two statistical bases of survey and population, next the financial statement, then the trade return of exports and imports, then a table showing the progress of education, and one giving the number and distribution of troops. In the trade tables there is an attempt to combine in one view the quantity and value of each article, with a comparison of years, as regards each Presidency and each foreign country, with the total value and quantity of each article, and the total trade to and from each country. Several tables are by this plan united in one, and the number is further diminished by not making separate tables of free and dutiable articles, but placing the amount of duty, if any, under each article.

62. Thus the supply of information on Indian subjects, both for official use and for the Parliament and general public, would be completely provided for by the classified catalogue, the twenty memoirs, each with its annual abstract, and by the annual Moral and Material Progress Report, with its appendix of statistical tabular statements.

63. *Summary of the Proposals suggested for embodiment in a Report of the Select Committee.*

I. That a classified catalogue be prepared on a detailed system decided upon by the Committee, embracing every document of every description, printed or in manuscript, contained in the India Office.

II. That, until this classified catalogue is completed, and more reliable materials are received from India, it is not practicable to arrive at definite conclusions, or rigorously to fix statistical units. But that these ends should be kept steadily in view, and that present efforts should be devoted to the collection of really good materials, and to their systematic classification.

III. That this should more especially be the duty of the Departments dealing with subjects relating to economic science, which should keep those who are engaged in the work of collecting and arranging statistics in India fully acquainted

with all that has been done, and is being done, in their respective branches in other countries, and should suggest improvements and additions in details. The Committee further suggest some departmental steps with reference to the next census, to the preparation of agricultural statistics and of the trade returns, to the classification of shipping returns, and to the regular examination and comparison of the trade returns of other countries, which might advantageously be adopted at once.

IV. That the Administration Reports received from India, with their statistical tables, be annually compared with those of the previous year, and with each other; that all differences and omissions be noted and reported; and that a complete comparative statement having been drawn up, the various suggestions for improvements in the different reports be considered and despatched to India.

V. That, with a view to the efficient supply of information on Indian subjects for official use, and to the Parliament and people of this country, a series of twenty memoirs be prepared, embodying a general view of each division in the classified arrangement, with an exhaustive system of references, and illustrated by maps and diagrams, all being uniform with the present Memoir on the Surveys, and that these memoirs be published. That twenty annual abstracts be prepared also, each containing a connected narrative respecting the subject of the memoir to which it belongs for the year, with copious references. That, at certain intervals, new editions of the memoirs be issued, embodying all the information contained in the abstracts, the whole system being entirely self supporting.

VI. That the new series of the Moral and Material Progress Report be continued on the same plan as was adopted for the Reports of 1871–72 and 1872–73, ordinary annual reports, like the abstracts of memoirs, merely covering the events of the current years, while new editions of the fuller Report of 1872–73, like the new editions of the memoirs, should be presented at certain intervals, perhaps at the meeting of each new Parliament. That, in future, the Statistical Abstract, in a more condensed shape, be embodied in the Moral and Material Progress Report, as an appendix.

Bibliography

Archives consulted (abbreviations)

British Library (BL):

Sloane manuscripts (MS Sloane)

Additional Manuscripts (Add MS)

India Office Records (IOR): main series referenced:

A: East India Company: Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties, c.1550-c.1950

B: East India Company: Minutes of the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors, 1599-1858

C: Council of India Minutes and Memoranda, 1858-1947

E: East India Company: General Correspondence 1602-1859

H: India Office Home Miscellaneous Series c.1600-1900

I: Records relating to other Europeans in India, 1475-1824

G: East India Company Factory Records, c.1595-1858

L: India Office Departmental Records:

L/AG: India Office: Accountant-General's records, c.1601-1974

L/E: India Office: Economic Department Records, c.1876-1950

L/MAR: India Office: Marine Records, c.1600-1879

L/P&S: India Office: Political and Secret Department Records, 1795-1950

L/R: India Office: Record Department Papers, 1859-1959

L/SUR: India Office: Surveyor's Office Records, 1837-1934

Z: Original Registers and Indexes to Records Series, c.1700-1950

Private Papers, European Manuscripts (MS Eur)

Secondary sources and printed materials

'The Abyssinian Difficulty', *Westminster Review*, Jan-Apr 1868, n.s. 33, p. 192

Adams, Robyn, and Rosanna Cox, eds, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

-------, 'A Most Secret Service: William Herle and the Circulation of Intelligence', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) pp. 63-81

-------, '"The Service I am Here for": William Herle in the Marshalsea Prison, 1571', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 72 (2009), 217-238

-------, 'A Spy on the Payroll? William Herle and the Mid-Elizabethan Polity', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), 266-280

Akerman, James R., ed., *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)

-------, 'The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases', *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995), 138–154

Akhimie, Patricia, 'Strange Episodes: Race in Stage History', *Shakespearean Bulletin*, 27 (2009), 363–376

Akkerman, Nadine, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011--)

Altick, Richard D., *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978)

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983)

Appadurai, Arjun, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Arondekar, Anjali, 'Without a Trace: Sexuality and the Colonial Archive', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 14 (2005), 10-27

Arberry, A. J., *The India Office Library: A Historical Sketch*, (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1967)

Axelby, Richard, and Savithri Preetha Nair, *Science and the Changing Environment in India, 1780-1920: A Guide to Sources in the India Office Records*, ed. by Andrew Cook (London: British Library, 2010)

Baigent, Elizabeth, 'The Geography of Biography, the Biography of Geography: Rewriting the *Dictionary of National Biography*', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 531-551

Ballantyne, Tony, 'Archive, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian Historiography', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 3 (2001), 87-105

-------, 'Mr. Peal's Archive: Mobility and Exchange in Histories of Empire', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 87-110

-------, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002)

Barbour, Richmond, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1676-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

-------, 'The East India Company Journal of Anthony Marlowe, 1607-1608', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 255-31

-------, '"There Is Our Commission": Writing and Authority in "Measure for Measure" and the London East India Company', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 99 (2000), 193-214

-------, *The Third Voyage Journals: Writing and Performance in the London East India Company, 1607-10* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Barringer, T. J., and Tom Flynn, eds, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998)

-------, 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project' in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, ed. by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 11-27

Bassett, David K., 'The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam, 1602-1682' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1955)

-------, 'The Trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623-1684', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (n.s.), 92 (1960), 32-47

Bastian, Jeanette Allis, 'Reading Colonial Records through an Archival Lens: the Provenance of Place, Space and Creation', *Archival Science*, 6 (2006), 267-284

Bayly, Christopher A., *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

-------, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989)

Bennett, Tony, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995)

-------, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations,* 4 (1988), 73-102

Bidie, G., *Cinchona Culture in British India* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1879)

Bingle, R. J., 'Henry Yule: India and Cathay', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996,* ed. by R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair, eds, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), pp. 142-163.

George Birdwood, *Catalogue of the Economic Products of the Presidency of Bombay: Being a Catalogue of the Government Central Museum* (Bombay: printed at the Education Society's Press, 1862)

-------, and William Foster, eds., *The First Letter Book of the Company of Merchants Trading into the East Indies, 1600-1619* (Bernard Quaritch: London, 1893)

-------, *The Industrial Arts of India,* 2 vols, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880)

-------, and William Foster, *Relics of the Honourable East India Company: A Series of Fifty Plates with Letterpress,* (London: Quaritch, 1909)

-------, *Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the India Office, November 1, 1878* (London: HMSO, 1879)

-------, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1889)

-------, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office, with Supplementary Notes and Appendices* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891)

--------, *Sva* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1915)

Blanchard, Peter, ed., *Markham in Peru: The Travels of Clements Markham, 1852-1853* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991)

Bowen, H.V., *The Business of Empire: the East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

-------, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby, eds, *The Worlds of the East India Company* (New York: Woodbridge Boydell, 2002)

Boyle, Francis Hastings, *The Return of the Guards, and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1866)

Brantlinger, Patrick, ed., *Energy and Entropy: Science and Culture in Victorian Britain* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989)

Breight, Curt, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45 (1992), 20-48

Bremner, Alex, '"Some Imperial Institute": Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887-93', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62 (2003), 50-74

Brenner, Robert, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London: Verso, 2003)

-------, 'The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion, 1550-1650', in *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450-1800*, ed. by Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), pp. 279-302

Bridges, R. C., and P. E. H. Hair, eds, *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996)

-------, 'William Desborough Cooley and the Foundations of the Hakluyt Society', in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996*, ed. by R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), pp. 51-80

Brotton, Jerry, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion, 1997)

Burton, Antoinette, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005)

-------, 'Archive Stories: Gender in the Making of Imperial and Colonial Histories', in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 281-295

--------, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Cannadine, David, 'The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy

and the "Invention of Tradition", *c*.1820-1977', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101-164

Cannon, Susan, *Science in Culture*: *The Early Victorian Period* (New York: Dawson, 1978)

Carey, P. B. R., 'The Residency Archive of Jogjakarta', *Indonesia*, 25 (1978), 115-150

Caswell, John Edwards, 'The RGS and the British Arctic Expedition, 1875-76', *Geographical Journal*, 143 (1977), 200-210

Chancey, Karen, 'The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624-1632', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 30 (1998), 583-598

Charters Granted to the East India Company from 1601; also the Treaties and Grants made with or obtained from the Princes and Powers in India from the year 1756 to 1772, (London: East India Company, 1773)

Charters Relating to the East India Company from 1600 to 1761. Reprinted from a Former Collection with Some Additions and a Preface, by John Shaw, Esquire. For the Government of Madras. (Madras: printed by R. Hill at the Government Press, 1887)

Chaterjee, Partha, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Chaudhury, Kirti N., *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-stock Company, 1600-1640* (London: Frank Cass, 1965)

-------, *The Trading World of Asia and the East India Company, 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)

Codrington, Kenneth de Burgh, *Birdwood and the Study of the Arts in India* (London: Royal Society of the Arts, 1970)

Cohn, Bernard, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

-------, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 165-210

Colebrooke, T. E., *The Life of H.T. Colebrooke* (London: Trubner, 1873).

Cook, Andrew S., 'Establishing the Sea Routes to India and China: Stages in the Development of Hydrographical Knowledge', in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, ed. by H.V.

Bowen, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 119-136

Cook, Harold J., and David S. Lux, 'Closed Circles or Open Networks? Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution', *History of Science*, 36 (1998), 179-211

Cook, Terry, and Joan Schwartz, 'Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 171-185

Coombes, Annie, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994)

Corney, Bolton, ed., *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands; being the Second Voyage set forth by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East-Indies. From the Edition of 1606*, Hakluyt Society 1st series, 19 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1855)

Cosmo III, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Through England during the Reign of King Charles the Second* (1669) (London: Printed by J. Mawman, 1821)

Courtenaar, Neil Ten, 'Postcolonial Ekphrasis: Salman Rushdie Gives the Finger Back to the Empire', *Contemporary Literature*, 38 (1997) 232-259

Cox, Richard, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004)

Cromwell, Valerie and Zara S. Steiner, 'The Foreign Office before 1914: A Study in Resistance', in *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, ed. by Gillian Sutherland (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 167-194

Crone, G. R., '"Jewells of Antiquitie": The Work of the Hakluyt Society', *Geographical Journal*, 28 (1962), 321-324

Dale, Leigh, 'George Grey in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa', in *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall (London: Tauris, 2007), pp. 19-42

-------, 'George Grey in Ireland: Narrative and Network', in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 145-175

Danvers, Frederick Charles, *The Covenant: or, Jacob's Heritage. Being an Examination into Circumstances Connected with Ancient Israel, with England, and with Other Leading Nations of the Present Day* (London: William Henry Guest, 1877)

-------, *Israel Redivivus: Being a History of the Tribes of Israel, Distinct from that of Judah, from the Times when the Biblical Accounts of them Came to an End* (London: Robert Banks & Son, 1905)

-------, and William Foster, eds, *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East* [1602-1617], 6 vols (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1896-1902)

-------, *Report on the India Office Records relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf* (London: 1889)

-------, *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Records in the India Office, Vol. 1 Part 1. Records relating to agencies, factories and settlements not now under the administration of the Government of India* (London: HMSO, 1887: repr. 1888)

-------, *Report to the Secretary of State in Council on the Portuguese records relating to the East Indies in the Archivo de Torre do Tombo and the Public Libraries in Lisbon and Evora* (London: HMSO, 1892)

-------, 'A Review of Indian Statistics', in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 64 (1901), 31-72

Das Gupta, Arun, 'The Maritime Trade of Indonesia, 1500-1800', in *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), ed. by Om Prakash, pp. 81-116

Daybell, James, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

'Death of Sir Clements Markham', *The Geographical Journal*, 47 (1916), 161-176

Dentith, Simon, *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Derrida, Jacques, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. by Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Desmond, Ray, *The India Museum, 1801-1879* (London: HMSO, 1982)

Desroisières, Alain, *The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning*, trans. by Camille Naish (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998)

Diamond, Ann, 'Reducing These Loose Papers into This Order: A Bibliographical Sociology of the *Principall Navigations*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2012)

Dirks, Nicholas B., 'Castes of Mind', *Representations*, 37 (1992), 56-78

-------, 'The Crimes of Colonialism: Anthropology and the Textualization of India', in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Pels (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 153-179

Drayton, Richard, *Nature's Rule: Science, Imperial Britain and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000)

Driver, Felix, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001)

-------, 'Henry Morton Stanley and his Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire', *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), 134-166

-------, 'In Search of the Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire', *History Workshop Journal*, 69 (2010), 146-157

Duff, Wendy, and Verne Harris, 'Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 263-285

Edney, Matthew H., 'Cartography Without Progress: Reinterpreting the Nature and Development of Historical Map Making', Cartographica, 30 (1993), 54-58

-------, 'The Irony of Imperial Mapping' in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. by James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 11-45

-------, *Mapping an Empire: the Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997)

-------, 'Mathematical Cosmography and the Social Ideology of British Cartography, 1780-1820', *Imago Mundi*, 46 (1994), 101-116

-------, 'The Patronage of Science and the Creation of Imperial Space: The British Mapping of India, 1799- 1843', *Cartographica*, 30 (1993), 61-67

Endersby, Jim, *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008)

Erikson, Emily, and Peter Bearman, 'Malfeasance and the Foundations for Global Trade: the Structure of English Trade in the East Indies, 1601-1833', *American Journal of Sociology*, 112 (2006), 195-230

Eskildsen, Kasper Risbjerg, 'Leopold Ranke's Archival Turn: Location and Evidence in Modern Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History*, 5 (2008), 425-453

Farrington, Anthony, 'Bengkulu: An Anglo-Chinese Partnership' in *The Worlds of the East India Company* (New York: Woodbridge Boydell, 2002), ed. by H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby, pp. 111-188

-------, *The Records of the East India College, Haileybury, and Other Institutions* (London: HMSO, 1976)

-------, *Sir William Foster 1863-1951: A Bibliography,* IOLR Occasional Publications, 1 (London: IOLR, 1972)

Fleming, Fergus, *Barrow's Boys* (London: Granta, 1998)

Foster, William, *The East India House, Its History and Associations* (London: John Lane and the Bodley Head, 1924)

-------, ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, as Narrated in his Journal and Correspondence*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899)

-------, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: A. & C. Black, 1933)

-------, ed., *The English Factories in India*, 13 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906-1927)

-------, *Guide to the India Office Records*, (London: HMSO, 1919)

-------, 'The Hakluyt Society, 1846-1946. A Retrospect', in *Richard Hakluyt and his Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society*, ed. by Edward Lynam, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Hakluyt Society, 1946), pp. 141-170

-------, ed., *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India, and the Malay Archipelago*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 16 (Hakluyt Society: London, 1905)

-------, 'Samuel Purchas' in *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society*, ed. by Edward Lynam, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Hakluyt Society, 1946), pp. 49-61

-------, ed., *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591-1603*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 75 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940)

-------, ed., *The Voyages of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-15, As Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 82 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1938)

-------, ed., *The Voyage of Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606* Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 88 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1943)

-------, ed., *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612- 1614*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 75 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934)

Froude, James A., 'England's Forgotten Worthies', *Westminster Review* July-Oct. 1852, pp. 32-67

Furber, Holden, *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997)

-------, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976)

Games, Alison, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Gascoigne, John, 'The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the "New World(s)", 1660-1800', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 42 (2009), 539-526

Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973)

Giberti, Bruno, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2002)

Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980)

-------, 'The Inquisitor as Anthropologist', in *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989; repr. 2013), pp. 141-148

Godlewska, Ann, and Neil Smith, eds, *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994),

-------, 'Napoleon's Geographers (1795-1815): Imperialists and Soldiers of Modernity' in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford: Blackwell publishers, 1994), pp. 31-55

Guha, Ranajit, *History at the Limit of World-History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)

Hair, P. E. H., 'Hamlet in an Afro-Portuguese Setting: New Perspectives on Sierra Leone in 1607', in P. E. H. Hair, *Africa Encountered: European Contacts and Evidence, 1450-*

1700 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 21-42 (first publ. in *History in Africa*, 5 (1978), 21–42)

Hakluyt, Richard, *Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America'* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcocke, 1582)

-------, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares*, 8 vols (London: J. M. Dent, 1907)

Hamilton, Carolyn, and others, eds, *Refiguring the Archive* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002)

Harley, J. B., 'Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe' *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988) 57-76

Hart, Jennifer, 'The Genesis of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report', in *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, ed. by Gillian Sutherland (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 63-81

Heffernan, Michael J., 'The Science of Empire: The French Geographical Movement and the Forms of French Imperialism', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 92-114

Hejeebu, Santhi, 'Contract Enforcement in the English East India Company', *Journal of Economic History*, 65 (2005), 496-523

Hewitt, Rachel, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta, 2010

Hill, S. C., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages, Belonging to the India Office*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916)

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

-------, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 263-308

Hoffenburg, Peter H., *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

Hulme, Peter, and Russell Macdougall, *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology* (London: Tauris, 2007)

Hunter, Michael, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Hutchins, Francis, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princteon University Press, 1967)

The India List, Civil and Military, July 1875 (London: W.H Allen, 1875)

India Office Library and Records Annual Report 1970-1971 (London: HMSO, 1971)

Jardine, Lisa, *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Jones, Ray, *The Nineteenth-Century Foreign Office: An Administrative History* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1971)

Joseph, Betty, *Reading the East India Company 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Kaminsky, Arnold P., *The India Office, 1880-1910* (London: Mansell, 1986)

Kamps, Ivo, and Jyotsna G. Singh, eds, *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001)

Kaplan, Elisabeth 'Many Paths to Partial Truths: Archives, Anthropology and the Power of Representation' *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 209-220

-------, 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity', *American Archivist*, 63 (2000), 126-151

Kaye, John William, *The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853);

-------, *Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative* (London: Smith and Elder, 1859);

-------, *A History of the War in Afghanistan*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1851)

-------, *History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-1858*, 3 vols (London: W.H. Allen, 1866-1876)

-------, 'The House That John Built', *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1860, pp. 113-121

-------, 'The House That Scott Built', *Cornhill Magazine*, September 1867, pp. 362-363

-------, *Life and Correspondence of Henry St George Tucker* (London: Richard Bentley, 1854)

-------, *Life and Correspondence of Major General Sir John Malcolm*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856)

-------, *Lives of Indian Officers*, 2 vols (London: Strahan / Bell & Daldy 1867)

-------, Sir John Kaye to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 27, 1875

-------, *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1855)

Ketelaar, Eric, *The Archival Image: Collected Essays* (Hilversum: Hilversum Verloren, 1997)

-------, 'Cultivating Archives: Meanings and Identities', *Archival Science*, 12 (2012), 19-33

-------, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science*, 7 (2007), 343-357

Kliman, Bernice W., 'At Sea about Hamlet at Sea: A Detective Story', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 62 (Summer 2011) 180-204

Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Kriegel, Lara, 'After the Exhibitionary Complex: Museum Histories and the Future of the Victorian Past' *Victorian Studies*, 48 (2006), 681 – 704

Kuhn, Thomas S., *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Phoenix, 1964)

Lambert, David, and Alan Lester, *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Langlois, Charles-Victor, and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, ed. by Madeleine Reberioux (Paris: Kimé, 1992)

Latour, Bernard, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982)

Law, John, ed., *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?* Sociological Review Monograph, 32 (London: Routledge, 1986)

-------, 'On the Methods of Long-Distance Control: Vessels, Navigation and the Portuguese Route to India', in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge*?, ed. by John Law, Sociological Review Monograph, 32 (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 234-263

The Lawes or Standing Orders of the East India Company (London: Edmund Alday, 1621), ESTC (2nd ed.) 7447

Lawson, Philip, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Longman, 1993)

Lenz, Karl, 'The Berlin Geographical Society 1828-1978', *Geographical Journal*, 144 (1978), 218-223

Levine, Philippa, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

-------, 'Discipline and Pleasure: Response', *Victorian Studies* 42 (2004), 319-325

-------, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

-------, 'History in the Archives: The Public Record Office and its Staff, 1838-1886', *The English Historical Review*, 101 (1986), 20-41

Livingstone, David, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1992)

-------, and Charles Withers, eds, *Geography and Enlightenment* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999)

Lockyer, Roger, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981)

Lynam, Edward, ed., *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors: A Volume Issued to Commemorate the Centenary of the Hakluyt Society*, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Hakluyt Society, 1946)

Lynne Magnusson, 'East India Company Commissioning Letters, 1600-1614: Risk Management and Prosaic Creativity', essay presented at ISC Seminar, August 2006

-------, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue: Dramatic Language and Elizabethan Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

-------, 'Letters', in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1500-1610*, ed. by Caroline Bicks and Jennifer Summit (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 130-51

-------, 'A Pragmatics for Interpreting Shakespeare's Sonnets 1 to 20: Dialogue Scripts and Erasmian Intertexts', *Methods in Historical Pragmatics: Approaches to Negotiated Meaning in Historical Contexts*, ed. by Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 167-84

Majeed, Javed, *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's* The History of British India *and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

Mallet, Louis, 'Sir George C. M. Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.D., LL.D. His Life and Work', *Journal of Indian Art*, 8 (1900), 119-156

Margadant, Jo Burr, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

Markham, Albert Hastings, *The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham* (London: John Murray, 1917)

Markham, Clements R., *Contributions Towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Incas of Peru* (London: Trubner, 1864)

-------, *Major James Rennell and the Rise of Modern Geography* (London: Cassel, 1895)

-------, *Memoir on the Indian Surveys* (London: Allen & Co., 1871)

-------, *Ollanta. An Ancient Ynca Drama [in three acts and in verse]. Translated from the Original Quicha* (London: 1871)

-------, *Report on the Geographical Department of the India Office 1867 to 1877* (London: HMSO, 1878)

-------, 'Richard Hakluyt: his Life and Work. With a short account of the aims and achievements of the Hakluyt Society. An address delivered by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S. (President), on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society, December 15th, 1896' (London: Bedford Press, 1896)

-------, *Travels in Peru and India: While Superintending the Collections of Chinchona Plants and Seeds in South America and Their Introduction into India* (London: John Murray, 1862)

-------, *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies, with abstracts of voyages to the East Indies, during the seventeenth century, preserved in the India Office; and the Voyage of Captain John Knight (1606), to seek the North-West Passage*, Hakluyt Society 1st series, 56 (1876: Hakluyt Society, London)

Marshall, P. J., *East Indian Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)

-------, 'Private British Trade in the Indian Ocean before 1800', in *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), ed. by Om Prakash, pp. 237-262

Derek Massarella, '"The Loudest Lies": Knowledge of Japan in Seventeenth-century England', *Itinerario*, 11 (1987). 52–71

Matless, David, 'Effects of History', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 20 (1995), 405–409

Mayhall, Laura, 'Creating the “Suffragette Spirit”: British Feminism and the Historical Imagination', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke Unversity Press, 2005), pp. 232-250

Mayhew, Robert, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)

Mbembe, Achille, 'The Power of the Archive and its Limits', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton and others (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp. 19–26

McClintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995)

Middleton, Dorothy, 'The Early History of the Hakluyt Society 1847-1923', *The Geographical Journal*, 152 (1986), 217-224

Miller, David P., and Peter H Reil, eds., *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

-------, 'Joseph Banks, Empire, and "Centers of Calculation" in Late Hanoverian London', in *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany and Representations of Nature*, ed. by David P. Miller and Peter H. Reill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 21-37

Milton, John, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. by Don M. Wolfe and others, 8 vols, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82)

Moir, Martin, *General Guide to the India Office Records* (1988: The British Library, London)

-------, and Ray Desmond, 'South Asian Materials in the India Office Library and Records' in *British Library Occasional Papers*, 7: South Asian Studies, ed. by A. Gaur (London: British Library,1986)

-------, 'A Study of the History and Organisation of the Political and Secret Departments of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office 1784-1919, with a summary list of records' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1966)

Ogborn, Miles, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, *Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography*, 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

-------, *Indian Ink*: *Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

-------, 'Writing Travels: Power, Knowledge and Ritual on the English East India Company's Early Voyages', *Transactions of the Insititute of British Geographers*, 27 (2002), 155-171

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn., May 2011

Palmer, Daryl W., *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Pargiter, F. E., ed., *Centenary Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1823-1923* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1923)

Parker, John, 'Constants and Sources of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*' in *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626,* 2 vols, Hakluyt Society 2nd Series, 185 – 186 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), II, pp. 363-484.

Parry, Benita, *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination* (London: Allen Lane, 1972; rev. ed. London: Verso, 1998)

Pels, Peter, 'Afterword: Writing in the Margins of Marginal Discipline', in *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall (London: Tauris, 2007), pp. 221-236

-------, ed., *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999)

-------, 'The Rise and Fall of the Indian Aborigines: Orientalism, Anglicism, and the Emergence of an Ethnology of India, 1833-1869', in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Pels, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 82-116

Pennington, L. E., ed., *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626,* 2 vols, Hakluyt Society 2nd Series 185 – 186 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997)

Pickett, Catherine, *Bibliography of the East India Company: Books, Pamphlets and Other Materials Printed Between 1600 and 1785* (London: The British Library, 2011)

Prakash, Om, ed., *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia, An Expanding World,* gen. ed. A.J.R. Russell-Wood, 10 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)

Pratt, Peter, *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East India Co., at the Instance of the Court of Directors* (London: 1822; repr. Kobe: JL Thompson & Co., 1931)

Purchas, Samuel, *Hakluytus Posthumus: or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1905-1907)

Queller, Donald E., *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967)

Quinn, D. B., ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 144–145 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974)

Ramsay, G. D., 'Northern Europe', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by D. B. Quinn, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 144–145 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, pp. 155-160

Randolph, John, 'On the Biography of the Bakunin Family Archive', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke Unversity Press, 2005), pp. 209-231

Richards, Thomas, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991)

-------, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993)

Roque Ramirez, Horatio N., 'A Living Archive of Desire: Teresita la Campesina and the Embodiment of Queer Latino Community Histories', in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke Unversity Press, 2005), pp. 111-135

Rundall, Thomas, *Narratives of Voyages Towards the North-West, in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India, 1496 to 1631*, Hakluyt Society 1st series, 5 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1849)

Rushdie, Salman, *Midnight's Children* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981; repr. London: Vintage, 1995)

Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994)

-------, *Orientalism* (New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1978; repr. London: Penguin, 2003)

Sainsbury, Ethel Bruce, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company* [1635 – 1679], 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903-38)

Sainsbury, W. Noel, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1634, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and Elsewhere*, 5 vols (London: printed for HMSO by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1862-92)

Sandner, Gerhardt, and Mechtold Rössler, 'Geography and Empire in Germany, 1871-1945', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 115-127

Savours, Ann, 'Clements Markham: Longest Serving Officer, Most Prolific Editor' in *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society, 1846-1996*, ed. by R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 183 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996), pp. 51-80

Scammell, G.V., 'Hakluyt and the Economic Thought of his Time', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by D. B. Quinn, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, 144 – 145 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, pp. 15-22.

Schilder, Günter, 'Organization and Evolution of the Dutch East India Company's Hydrographic Office in the Seventeenth Century, *Imago Mundi* 28 (1976) 61-78

-------, and Hans Kok, *Sailing for the East: History and Catalogue of Manuscript Charts on Vellum of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), 1602-1799* (Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2010)

Schwartz, Henry, 'Laissez-Faire Linguistics: Grammar and the Codes of Empire', *Critical Inquiry*, 23 (1997), 509-535

Secord, James A., 'Knowledge in Transit', *Isis*, 95 (2004), 654-672

Seeley, J. R., *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1884)

Sen, Sudipta, *Empire of Free Trade: The East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998)

Shapin, Steven, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

-------, and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985)

Sherman, William H., 'Distant Relations: Letters from America, 1492 - 1677', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66 (2003), 225-245

-------, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)

Singh, Amar Kaur Jasbir, *A Guide to Source Materials on the India Office Library and Records for the History of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1785-1950* (London: the British Library, 1988)

Smith, Thomas R., 'Manuscript and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth-Century London: The Case of the Thames School' in *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart,Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Norman J. W. Thrower (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 45-100.

Smyth, Adam, 'Almanacs, Annotators and Life-writing in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38 (2008), 200-244

Snelling, R. C., and T. J. Barron, 'The Colonial Office and its Permanent Officials 1801-1914', in *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, ed. by Gillian Sutherland (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 139-166

Soubeyran, Olivier, 'Imperialism and Colonialism Versus Disciplinarity in French Geography', in *Geography and Empire*, ed. by Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 244-267

Souza, George B., 'Portuguese Country Traders in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, *c.*1600' in *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia*, ed. by Om Prakash (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 69-80

-------, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives', *History and Theory*, 24 (1985), 247-272

Spurr, David, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Travel-writing, Journalism and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC, 1993)

Stagl, Justin, *A History of Curiosity: the Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995)

Steedman, Carolyn, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001),

Stern, Philip J., *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

-------, 'Corporate Virtue: the Languages of Empire in Early Modern British Asia', *Renaissance Studies*, 26 (2012) 510-520

-------, 'History and Historiography of the English East India Company: Past, Present and Future!', *History Compass*, 7 (2009), 1146-1180

Stevens, Henry, ed., *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies, as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599-1603* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1886)

Stewart, Alan, and Heather Wolfe, *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (volume published in conjunction with the exhibition *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* presented at

The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, from November 18, 2004, through April 2, 2005). (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004)

-------, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

-------, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', *Representations*, 50 (1995), 76-100

Stoler, Ann Laura, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)

-------, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science* 2 (2002), 87-109

-------, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton and others (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), pp. 83-101

-------, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', *Journal of American History*, 88 (2001), 829-865

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450-1800, An Expanding World*, gen. ed. A.J.R. Russell-Wood, 8 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)

Sullivan, Ceri, *The Rhetoric of Credit: Merchants in Early Modern Writing* (Madison, WI: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002)

Sutherland, Gillian, ed., *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government* (London: Ashgate, 1972)

Sutherland, Lucy, *The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952)

Sutton, C. S., *A Guide to the India Office Library; with a Note on the India Office Records* (London: HMSO, 1967).

Taylor, Gary, '*Hamlet* in Africa 1607', in *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 223-248.

Teltscher, Kate, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Thrower, Norman J. W., ed., *The Compleat Plattmaker: Essays on Chart, Map, and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978)

Tollebeek, Jo, '"Turn'd to Dust and Tears": Revisiting the Archive', *History and Theory*, 43 (2004), 237-248

Trouillot, Michel-Rolphe, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995)

Trumpener, Katie, *Bardic Nationalism: the Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997)

Turnbull, David, 'Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces', *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1996), 5-24

Tuson, P. J., *India Office Library and Records: Sources for Middle East Studies* (London: HMSO, 1984)

Tyacke, Sarah, 'Gabriel Tatton's Maritime Atlas of the East Indies, 1620-1621: Portsmouth Royal Naval Museum, Admiralty Library Manuscript, MSS 352', *Imago Mundi*, 60 (2008), 39-62

Van Keuren, David K., 'Museums and Ideology: August Pitt-Rivers, Anthropological Museums, and Social Change in Later Victorian Britain', in *Energy and Entropy: Science and Culture in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Patrick Brantlinger (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) pp. 270-288

Verdery, Katherine, *Secrets and Truth: Ethnography in the Archive of Romania's Secret Police* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013)

Vicziany, Marika, 'Imperialism, Botany and Statistics in Early Nineteenth-Century India: The Surveys of Francis Buchanan (1762-1829), *Modern Asian Studies*, 20 (1996), 625-660

Ward, Joseph P., *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997)

Watson, I. B., *Foundation for Empire: English Private Trade in India, 1659-1760* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1980).

White, Hayden, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973)

Whyman, Susan E., *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Williams, Donovan, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Geographical Department of the India Office', *Geographical Journal*, 134 (1968), 343-352

-------, 'Clements Robert Markham and the Introduction of the Cinchona Tree into British India', *Geographical Journal*, 128 (1962), 431-442

-------, 'The Formation of Policy in the India Office, 1858-1869: A Study in the Tyranny of the Past', *Journal of Indian History*, 51 (1973), 873-892

-------, *The India Office 1858-1869* (Hoshiapur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1983)

Winterbottom, Anna, 'Company Culture: Information, Scholarship, and the East India Company Settlements, 1660-1720s' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2010)

-------, 'Self-Fashioning and Auto-Ethnography: Samuel Baron's *Description of Tonqueen* (1686)', *Journeys*, 14 (2013), 85-105

Withers, Charles W.J, Diarmid Finnegan and Rebekah Higgitt, 'Geography's Other Histories? Geography and Science in the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1831-c.1933', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 31 (2006), 433-451

Wright, H. R. C., 'The Anglo-Dutch Dispute in the East, 1814-1824', *Economic History Review*, n.s. 3 (1950), 229-239

Wright, Louis B., *Religion and Empire: The Alliance Between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1953: repr. New York: Octagon, 1973)

Yanni, Carla, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (London: Athlone, 1999)